

HIS
MAJESTIES
DECLARATION

to all His loving Subjects concern-
ing the proceedings of this present
PARLIAMENT.

Wherein is set forth the Piety of His MA-
JESTIES endeavours to promote the
Happinesse of His People;

Together with the practices and misun-
derstandings, by which it hath been
disappointed.



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Is more then time now, after so many Injuries and Indignities offered to Our Royall Person, so many Affronts and Scorns put upon our Kingly Office, so many scandalous, seditious and traitorous Pamphlets against Our Self and Our Government, to vindicate Our Self from those wicked and damnable Combinations and Conspiracies which the implacable malice & insatiable ambition of some persons have contrived against Us, and to let all Our loving Subjects know how much they are concerned in Our Sufferings, and how much their Peace and Securitie is shaken in the Assaults which are made, and the wounds which are given to Our Honour and Authoritie; and (how specious soever their pretences are of Religion and Libertie) that in truth their end is nothing but Anarchy and Confusion in either: in the relation and consideration whereof (though We take no delight in the sharpnesse

and bitterneſſe of expreſſions) 'tis no wonder, if being compelled to take notice of Actions of a high and injurious nature, and to conſider and answer words impetuously directed againſt Maſteſtie it Self, We be likewise enforced to uſe a dialect rougher and different from what We have uſed to treat in ('tis a weapon We bluſh to find Our Self put to exerciſe.) And We call the Almighty God to witneſſe, that though We were extremely ſenſible of the violent and unjuſtifiable Impoſitions upon Our Royall Office and Authoritie, of the apparent hazard and danger which threatned Our own Perſon, and Safety; yet not ſo much the particular conſideration of Our Self, hath engaged Us in the reſolution We have now taken, as the publick Care of the true Proteſtant Religion, the preſervation of the Law, and the Libertie of the Subject, and the upholding the whole frame and conſtitution of this Kingdome, ſo admirably founded and continued by the bleſſing of God, and the wiſdome of Our Anceſtours, to the wonder and envie of all the neighbouring Kingdomes, which the faction and ambition of a few diſcontented ſpirits, with their counterfeit ſhews of Religion, and pretences of Libertie, endeavour to ſhake and rend aſunder, and to bring Our Self and all the Subjects of this Kingdome into perpetuall Subjection unto their vaſt, unlimited, arbitrary, ſeditious Jurisdiction. We ſhall begin Our diſcourſe from the beginning of this Parliament: For of the unhappy diſſolution of the laſt (by the miſinformation and advice of ſome perſons, looked upon now under another character) We ſhall forbear to ſpeak; being reſolved that no diſregard or undutiſfulneſſe of other men towards Us, ſhall ever prevail with Us, to do what We think unſuitable to the Honour and Reputation of a juſt Prince, and of a good and a loving Maſter.

When

When We resolved to summon this Parliament, (which We did out of Our own earnest and affectionate desire to beget a good and right intelligence between Us and Our People, and before the meeting of Our Great Council at *York*, and uncompeled by any violence, but of Our love to Peace) We presented to Our Self the unhappy condition wherein the State of this Kingdome then stood, considered the nature of the pressures (then more freely represented unto Us) which in themselves were grievous to Our good Subjects, and in the consequences of them might appear more terrible; We took a full and clear prospect of the inconveniences and mischiefs which had grown by the long intermission of Parliaments, and by departing too much from the known Rule of the Law, to an Arbitrary power, and upon the whole resolved (without putting any glosse upon Our own former Commands, or endeavouring to make any excuse for the Actions of Our Ministers) that the measure of Our justice and favour by way of reparation, should farre exceed the proportion of the sufferings, Our good Subjects had undergone by Vs; which We were confident would beget so mutuall an affection and confidence between Vs, that such a foundation of firm and stable happinesse would immediately have been laid for the whole Kingdome, that all memorie of former grievances would have been easily buried, and that this Parliament should receive a glorious celebration both by King and People to the end of the world. And therefore upon the first Convention on the third of November, We declared Our resolution in that point, and then or soon after desired that whatever mistaking had grown in the government either of Church or State might be removed, and all things reduced to the order of the time (the memorie whereof is justly precious to this Nation) of Queen *Elizabeth*; and for any

expression of their affection to Vs in supply of Our known necessities, We were so farre from pressing, We resolved not to think of it till all Our good People should be abundantly satisfied in all necessary provision for their Libertie and Propertie, and what ever else might disturb them in their estates or consciences. How firnly We have kept Our Self to this Resolution is evident to all the world.

At the beginning of the Parliament We quickly discerned by some circumstances of their proceedings, that they meant not to confine or contain themselves within the paths of their Predecessours, which We imputed to the disorder, and impatience, the former sufferings of the Kingdome had begot in them, and therefore We resolved to take no exceptions to any particular, but to do Our part in any point of Reformation, as soon and as often as any opportunity should be offered unto Vs, believing that as soon as they should find themselves restored to their old securitie, and the matter and substance of their doubts and fears to be removed, they would easily and willingly reduce themselves into their good old way, and apply themselves to the usuall form of their Predecessours in the course of their proceedings. And though we well knew the Combination entred into by severall persons for an alteration in the Government of the Church, which could not but have an Influence upon the Civil Government of the State too, and observed that those men had greatest interest and power of perswading of both Houses, who had entred into such Combination, yet Our Resolution was so full for the publick satisfaction of Our people, that We believed, even those men would either have been converted in their Consciences, by the cleannes and justnesse of Our Actions, or would have appeared so unseasonable, or been discovered so seditious, that their malice and furie would not have
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been able to have done mischief; and therefore We took no notice of the great labour and skill the prime Leaders amongst them had used to get men of their faction nominated and elected to serve as members of the House of Commons, and did use to remove others (whom they knew to be of different opinions) though they were fairly and legally elected; wherein there was no other measure or rule of Justice observed then singly with reference to the opinions or affections of the persons, witnesse (besides their putting out or keeping in Men upon unquestionable Elections, without the least colour or shadow of Justice) their Order, whereby they at one clap expelled a very great number of persons fairly elected by their Country, upon pretence that they had some hand, or their names used in some Project, Monopoly or Patent, without charging them with any crime, or to this day proceeding against them; and yet they continue amongst them *S^r Henry Mildemay* *M^r Lawrence Whitakers*, and others, (whose affections and opinions they are well pleased with) though the first of them is notoriously known to be the chief Promoter of the businesse of the gold and silver thred (a Commission complained of, viewed, and examined, and therefore his name might have been easily taken notice of) and the other as conversant, and as much imployed as a Commissioner in matters of that nature as any man. We speak not this to excuse Monopolies (the inconveniences of which We are sensible of, and shall for the future prevent) but to shew the partiality of that Faction, and the use they make of them to their own advantage.

The first remedy (after the impeaching severall persons of high Treason, whom they looked upon as the chief causes of the publick sufferings) they proposed, was a Bill for the Trienniall Parliament, to the which, though We might justly have paused upon severall expressions and clauses in it,

it, and might very well have insisted upon our old Privilege and Custome not to passe any Bill till the end of the Session; yet since We really did believe most of the mischiefs then complained of, proceeded from the too long intermission of Parliaments, and were resolved for the future to communicate freely and frequently that way with Our Subjects, We passed over those exceptions, and consented to it, especially upon this confidence, That when such other Acts should be agreed upon for the ease and security of Our People, as we desired and expected should be preferred to Vs, this Act would be a sufficient earnest and assurance that all those Acts should be faithfully observed by Vs, and so there should be no room left for any fears and jealousies which might prevent that mutuall Confidence between Vs and Our People we earnestly desired to raise: And for some time after the passing this Act, We found such an acknowledgement from both Houses of Our singular Grace and Favour in consenting to it, and so great expressions of their affections and purposes towards Vs, that We believed the sense of it would never have been forgotten, and were as much pleased that We had taken that way of obliging Our People, as they were with the benefit it self.

But We were very well able to discover that whatsoever seemed to be asked of Vs, or to be complained of to Vs, there was still a Faction of a few ambitious, discontented, and seditious persons, who under pretence of being enemies to Arbitrary power, and of compassion towards those who out of tenderness of Conscience could not submit to some things enjoyed or commended in the Government of the Church, had in truth a desire (and had entred into a Combination to that purpose) to alter the Government both of Church and State, which they were yet to disguise, till by their Art or Industry they had infected some with their opinions,

nions, and by their cunning demeanour and managery of the publick Interests, they had seduced others to an impleite Confidence in their power, wisdom and integrity: And against this designe We onely opposed a resolution to contribute all Our assistance for the peace, happiness and security of Our People, and so to convince their Understandings (if their error proceeded from weaknesse) that no alteration could produce that happiness they imagined, and (if their natures were capable of such trusts) to take some of the chief of them so near Vs, that they might be witnesses of Our Actions, and privy to Our counsels, that either Ingenuitie or Gratitude might recover them from their desperate Inclinations: Hereupon, because most of the grievances of Our People were conceived to proceed from the great liberty of Our Council Board, or from some orders and directions from them, We admitted to Our Privie Council seven or eight of those Lords, who were eminently in esteem with Our People, for their reputation of Honour and Justice, some of whom we knew to be most passionately disinclined to the present managery of Civil affairs, and to the Government of the Church, and hoped that by a free Communication of their Doubts, Opinions and Counsels, they would have received that satisfaction, that they would have been excellent Instruments of a blessed Reformation and Confirmation in Church and State.

Having begun with this foundation of confidence in Our Court, by electing such persons, We made the same haste to apply particular remedies to the visible known diseases, resolving those remedies should be proportioned to the counsel and desires of both Houses; which We thought the surest way to win at least a major Part to the confession and acknowledgement of Our Justice and Affection.

The Starre-chamber had in the excessse of jurisdiction or

tediousness and charge of proceedings, or measure and severity of punishment invaded the Laws of the Land, and Liberty of the Subject, by the exercise of an Arbitrary power; We pressed not the reformation of this Court, though erected or settled by Act of Parliament in a wise time, but at the instance of both Houses consented to the abolition of it.

The High Commission Court had proceeded with too much strictness in many cases, where the tender consciences of many of Our weak Subjects were concerned, and had so farre outgrown the power of the Law, that it would not be limited and guided by it, but censured, fined and imprisoned Our People for matters unpunishable by the Law; We pressed not the review of that Statute by which that Court was erected, that such power might be qualified, and provisions altered, as had been grievous to the Subject, nor desired that any other care might be taken for the upholding the Ecclesiasticall discipline, then what the wisdom and piety of both Houses should think necessary; but, in compliance to the sufferings of Our People, and the desires of both Houses, consented to the repeal of that branch of that Statute.

The Writs for Ship-money, whereby severall summes of money had been received from Our good Subjects, for defence and safeguard of the Kingdome, had lain heavy upon Our People, yet were judged to be Legall: Both Our Houses of Parliament declared that the grounds and reasons of that judgement (being that when the good and safety of the Kingdome in generall is concerned, and that the whole Kingdome is in danger, We might compell Our Subjects to provide Ships, Men and Victuals, for the defence and safeguard of the Kingdome, and that We were the sole Judge of that danger, and how the same might be prevented) were contrary to, and against the Laws and Statutes of

of this Realm, the property and liberty of the Subject, and to the Petition of Right; without disputing Our Right, We were contented that all the proceedings in that businesse should be adjudged void, and disannulled, and the Judgements, Enrollments, and Entries thereupon should be vacated and cancelled in such manner as was desired.

Vnder colour of executing the Forrest Laws, and of keeping the Justice in Eyres seat, very many persons had been grieved and vexed, by Presentments, Fines, Judgements and Imprisonments, the meets, limits and bounds of Forrests extended, and some endeavours been made to set on foot Forrests, where in truth none had been: We no sooner received complaint of this, but We passed an Act for the certainty of the meets, limits and bounds of all the Forrests in England, with such further provisions for the ease of Our Subjects as were desired at Our hands.

If by the negligence or wilfulnesse of Persons trusted by Vs, any grievance or inconvenience had been contracted in any part of Our Kingdome (which seemed not to have so generall an influence upon the whole) upon the first clear information We did Our part for the easing of them, and therefore we passed, for the benefit of Our good Subjects of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, an Act against diverse Incroachments and Oppressions in the Stannary Courts.

And We were so confident this way to win the hearts and affections of all Our good Subjects, and that both Our Houses of Parliament would at last find a time to give too, that We made their Asking the onely Rule to Our Grants, and parted with any thing they desired Vs to relinquish: So in the Preamble to the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage, We parted with Our title of imposing, a Power adjudged good, and exercised by Our Ancestours, and though disputed, never resolved against by Judgement in Parliament;

So in the Act for regulating the Office of Clerk of the Market, because the undue execution thereof had been grievous to many of Our loving Subjects, We consented that no Clerk of the Market of Our House shall hereafter execute his Office in any part of Our Kingdome, but onely within the verge of Our Court, and granted the execution of that Office to the Majors and Bayliffs of Towns Corporate, and to the Lords of Liberties and Franchises, and to their Deputies; So, because about the beginning of Our Reigne severall Writs had issued out of Our Court of Chancery in the businesse of Knighthood, and been transmitted with their Returns into Our Court of Exchequer, where the proceedings were not fit and warrantable, We were contented by the Act for the prevention of vexatious proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood, absolutely to part with, and discharge a right and duty, as unquestionably due to Vs by the Law, as any service We can challenge; So, (which is the highest instance of trust that ever King gave his Subjects) upon Information that credit could not be obtained for so much money as was requisite for the relief of Our Army, and People in the Northern parts, for preventing the imminent danger the Kingdome was in, and for supply of Our present and urgent occasions, for fear the Parliament might be dissolved before Justice should be done upon Delinquents, publick grievances be redressed, a firm Peace between the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland* concluded, and before provision should be made for the repayment of such moneys as should be so raised (though We knew what power We parted from and trusted Our Houses with by so doing, and what might be the Consequence of such a trust, if unfaithfully managed) We neglected all such suspicions, which all men now see deserved not to be slighted, and We willingly and immediately
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passed that Act for the Continuance of this Parliament, being resolved that it should not be Our fault if all these particulars were not speedily provided for, which seemed then to be the grounds of their desire.

Let all the World now judge, what greater obligations of justice, favour, affection and trust can a Prince lay upon his Subjects then We did upon both Our Houses of Parliament by these Acts; and whether We did not in Our free Grace and Favour grant much more then had been asked of Vs by that Petition presented to Vs by some Lords at *York*, in which was then thought to be contracted all that was grievous to Our people, and all that was just and gracious for Vs to do for them.

And in all the time in which these Acts were framing and passing, though Our own personall wants were notoriously known, and unkindly unprovided for, and themselves had asked leave to look into and settle Our Revenue, which We consented to, and therefore We might have expected some fruit of that pretended Care, We never pressed them or made the least overture to them for Our own supply, onely desired them (and 'twas almost the onely thing We did desire of them) that they would use all possible expedition in the businesse of the Treaty, that the two Armies might be speedily disbanded, and Our Subjects eased of that heave burthen which in time would grow insupportable, and waste the whole Stock of the Kingdome; But We found the Faction We feared in the beginning, grew still stronger, and nothing converted or reconciled by all those Acts of Ours, which would have made any Nation happy; that whilst We were busie in providing for the publick, they were contriving particular advantages of Offices and places for themselves; made use underhand of the former grievances of the Subject in things concerning Re-

ligion and Law, to change the Religion and Law of this Kingdome, labouring that neither any thing the Subject had suffered from the Crown might be forgotten, nor any satisfaction from the Crown to the Subject might be remembered: And therefore instead of acknowledging Our great Justice, and singular favour in passing those Acts, they infused into Our people that We passed them unwillingly, (whereas We never made the least pause upon any of them but one, that for the High Commission Court, and whether that was penned with that warinesse and animadversion, that there be not more determined by it, then the major part of both Houses intended at the passing of it, let themselves judge) and that We meant not to observe them; and grew so much confounded with the full measure of Our favour, that they would allow themselves no securitie of enjoying what We had freely given, but by taking away any power from Us of giving more; They must have a through alteration both in Church and State, or else they should never enjoy the benefit of Reformation We had willingly made. Hereupon they oppose the disbanding of the Armies, and give all delays to the *Scots* Treaty, though the Commissioners for that Nation very earnestly pressed the hastening of it, and in plain English declare, *That they cannot yet spare them, that the sonnes of Zeruah were too strong for them*; and finding more haste to be made in the asserting the Civill Interests then they desired, having a designe to engage this Kingdome into so vast a debt, that there might be no way of paying it but by the Lands of the Church, and lest Our good Subjects might be too soon satisfied, they hasten on to their designe upon the Church, which they at first disguised with a purpose onely of removing the Bishops from their votes in the Lords House.

Mr. Strode.

This Bill passed the House of Commons; in the House
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of Peers it endured severall long, free debates, and in the end upon great and solemne deliberation was by the consent of very much the Major part of that House, absolutely rejected. This was no sooner done, but that Faction (glad of the miscarriage of their former Bill) the passing whereof they knew would have satisfied many of those, whom they hoped now further to seduce, produced a Bill to be tendred in the House of Commons for the abolition of Bishops out of the Church of England, root and branch (according to their first Resolution, as M. Pym told a Member of the Lords House by way of reproof, *That it was not enough to be against the Persons of the Bishops, if he were not against the Function*) and for extirpation of all Deans and Chapters, and reducing that admirable frame of government, and support of learning into a Chaos of Confusion, that out of it they might mould an Utopia, no six of them had, nor We believe yet hath agreed upon further then to destroy the present, and out of the goodly Revenue which the pious bountie and devotion of former Ages had been so long in raising for the encouragement and advancement of Learning and Religion, and which God hath blessed with so many eminent men whose learning and lives have advanced the Doctrine of the Protestant Religion, and many of them given their bodies to the fire, as a sacrifice to that Truth and Religion, to erect Stipends to their own Clergie, and to raise estates to repair their own broken fortunes. And for the free passing of this Bill (which to this houre they could never tell what to make of) two Armies must be kept in the bowels of the Kingdome at fourescore thousand pounds a moneth charge to the Common-wealth: for about this Bill the House of Commons was so wholly taken up, that in ten weeks more or very little other businessse could be thought of.

About

About this time or little before, after severall intimations of Treasons, Plots, and Conspiracies by the Papists, of great provisions of Arms by them, and training men under ground, and many other false reports, created, spread, and countenanced by themselves, upon some generall apprehensions of designs against them, a Protestation is made in the House of Commons for some union and consent amongst themselves to perform those duties, which (if they had meant no more then they expressed) had been sufficiently provided for by the Oaths they had already taken, and which their former duties obliged them to. Hereupon a Protestation is framed, and being put into such words, as no honest man could believe himself obliged by it to any unlawfull Action, was voluntarily taken by all the Members of the House of Commons, and presently recommended to the House of Lords, where it received the same Countenance, that is, was looked upon as containing nothing in it self unlawfull, though some Members of that House refused to take it, being voluntary and not imposed by any lawfull Authoritie; then 'tis recommended to the Citie of London, and over all the Kingdome, by Order from the House of Commons (a strange, and unheard of usurpation) to be taken by all Persons: But within very few dayes upon conference amongst themselves, and with those Clergie men who dayly sollicite their unlawfull and unwarrantable designs with the people, they find they were by this Protestation so farre from having drawn people into their Combination, that in truth all men conceived that they were even engaged by it against their main designe, by promising to defend the true reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, &c. And thereupon some persons of that Faction prevailed that after the Members of the Houses had taken it, a Declaration was set forth

forth by the House of Commons, that by those words, *The Doctrine of the Church of England*, was intended onely so farre as it was opposite to Popery and Popish Innovations, and that the words were not to be extended to the maintenance of the Discipline and Government, &c. And so under this explication and Declaration published onely by the House of Commons, and never assented to by the House of Peers, this Protestation was directed to be generally taken throughout *England*; and to that purpose a Bill is drawn, passed the House of Commons, and sent up to the Lords, who at the second reading, finding many particulars in it unfit to be so severely imposed upon the Subjects, absolutely rejected.

Upon this ensued a new and unheard of distemper in the House of Commons, as if it had been great presumption in the House of Peers to refuse any Bill sent from them, and thereupon a Vote passed in the House of Commons, *That that House did conceive that the Protestation made by them, is fit to be taken by every person that is well affected in Religion, and to the good of the Commonwealth, and therefore doth Declare that what person soever shall not take the Protestation is unfit to bear Office in the Church or Commonwealth*, and ordered that the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses should send down to the severall places for which they serve Copies of that Vote of the House concerning the Protestation, and that those Votes should be printed.

Let all men judge, whether before that time from the beginning of Parliaments the House of Commons had ever presumed to trench so farre upon Our priviledge, to make a Declaration so like Law without Us; or upon the priviledge of the Lords, to make and publish such a Declaration after they had rejected the Bill, and some of them refused to take the Protestation; or upon the Liberty of
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the Subject, so farre to impose any such thing upon them, without consent of Parliament. Yet of this We took no notice, but pressed still the disbanding of the Armies, and interposed and quickened them in nothing else; which was again with all earnestnesse desired by the Scots at Newcastle, and pressed by their Commissioners at London.

But a new fright was now found to startle the People, and to bring Vs into hatred or jealousy with them: The generall rumours of Treasons and Conspiracies began to lose credit with all men, who began to consider what they felt more then what others feared; and therefore they had now found out a Treason indeed, even ready to be put in execution upon the whole Kingdome, the representative body thereof, a Plot to bring up the whole armie out of the Northern parts to London. A strange Plot indeed, which considering the constitution of that time, no man can believe Vs guiltie of, and though they made great use of it to the filling the minds of Our People with fears and apprehensions, they seemed not then to charge Vs with any knowledge of, or privitie to it; what they have done since, all the world knows, notwithstanding Our many Protestations in that point. And we cannot but say, that by those Examinations of Colonell Goring, Sir Jacob Ashley, and Sir John Conyers, and M. Percies letter, which is all the Evidence We have seen, and by which they seem principally to be guided, We cannot satisfie our own private Conscience, that there was ever a Resolution of bringing up the Armie to London, and upon the strictest examination We can make of that businesse, We can find it to be no other then this;

Observation being made of the great Tumults about Westminster, which seemed to threaten the safety of the Members of both Houses, at least of those who were known
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not to agree with the designs of that Faction We have before spoken of, and the manner of delivering Petitions by multitudes of People attested (or pretended to be so) by the hands of many thousands against the known Laws and established Government of the Kingdome, which yet seemed to receive some countenance, and to carry some authoritie, as instances of the affections of so many persons; it fell into the thoughts of some Officers of the Army of known and publick affections to their Countrey, that a Petition of a modest and a dutifull nature from the whole Army for the composing and settling all grievances in the Church and State by Law, might for the reason of it prevail with the whole House, and coming from such a Body might confirm those, who might be shaken with any fears of power or force by the Tumults: And with this Proposition We being made acquainted, gave Our full approbation to it, taking great care that no circumstances in the framing it, or delivering it, might be any blemish to the matter of it.

This We call God to witnesse, as We have done before, was all We gave Our consent unto, or which We believe was ever intended to be put in practice (what attempts other men made to seduce the affections of the Army from Us, is known to many.) If in the managery of this debate any rash discourses happened of bringing up the Army, it is evident whether they were proposed in earnest or no; they were never entertained and the whole matter laid aside above two moneths before any discovery, so that that danger was never prevented by the power and wisdom of Parliament: And for the Petition it self which hath been so often pressed against Us, as a speciall Argument of Our Privitie to the bringing up the Army, after We have so fully and particularly answered every particular circumstance of that Petition signed with C. R. We have herewith published a

true Copie of that Petition, that all Our good Subjects may see how justly We have been traduced, and judge when Petitions of all natures were so frequently and so willingly received, whether such a Petition might not with modesty & duty enough have been presented unto them: And if in truth that desire of bringing up the Army had been then believed, when it was first pretended to be discovered, which was about the middle of *May*, they would surely have thought it necessary to have disbanded that Army sooner then *August*, which no pressing of Ours, nor of Our *Scots* Subjects could perswade them to do. And We are sure Our Innocence in this matter would soon have appeared, if the large time to bring this businesse to a Judicall tryall had been made use of; if, contrary to all custome, it had not been thought fit to publish depositions before the parties concerned had been heard to make their defence, or witnesses crosse-examined, though they attended above twelve moneths to do it; and if some men had not believed that their generall and violent expressions, affirming this to be a Plot equall to that of the Gunpowder treason, would sooner be believed, if it were not publicly discussed, but left to every mans fancie to heighten according to his own inclinations; and had not feared that if the whole examinations taken (and not such onely as they pleased to select) had come to light, it would have appeared by the examination of *M. Goring*, (purposely suppress) with what intention that mention of bringing up the Army was made, with what earnestnesse it was opposed, and with what suddennesse it was deserted; and many extenuations of, and many other contradictions to what is now published, would have appeared, and this impossible stratageme, with which they have so much disturbed Our Subjects, and reproched Vs, could never have been made so much use of.

After

After all this readinesse in Vs to do whatsoever they desired of Vs, and patience in suffering them to do whatever they pleased to Vs, We gave them warning that if there were any more good Bills, which they desired might passe for the benefit of Our Subjects, We wished they might be made ready against such a time, when We resolved according to Our promise to Our *Scots* Subjects (with which they were well acquainted) to repair into Our Kingdome of *Scotland*, to settle the unhappy differences there. Upon this We were earnestly desired by both Our Houses of Parliament to defer Our journey thither, as well upon pretence of the danger, if both Armies were not first disbanded, as that they had many good Laws in readinesse for the settling the differences here. We were by their intreaty perswaded to deferre Our journey to a day agreed on by themselves, assuring Our Self that they would think themselves obliged against that time not onely to disband Our Armies, but so to prepare and digest the businesse of Parliament, that We might have made a Session before Our going: But that Malignant Faction was so prevalent, that the debate of the Bishops Bill took up most of their time, so that neither any care was taken for the disbanding the Army, nor any thing done that had any reference to the publick benefit; and when the time of Our Stay was expired, and even the day come themselves had appointed, a new addresse was made to Vs for a longer stay of fourteen dayes, because the Treaty was not concluded, nor the Armies disbanded, which was the main ground of deferring it before. This sute (which was the first We denied them) We could not grant, there being that necessity with reference to Our promise, and to the expectation of Our Subjects of *Scotland*, that it was not in Our power to satisfie them, as We informed both Houses Our Self at a conference, and according to that necessity

ty We undertook that journey, not doubting but that when We should have dispatched the affairs of that Kingdome, which We hoped speedily to do, and both Our Houses of Parliament should have refreshed themselves in the Visitation of those, for whom they had so well provided by Our favour, We should meet again with mutuall confidence one in another, and that it would be Our turn then to receive such testimonies of that confidence and affection We had deserved.

But the mischievous and indefatigable Industry of that Malignant partie, which had before Our going interrupted that correspondence, which We deserved from Our People, had with no lesse malice provided for Our reception at Our return. In stead of reducing businesse to that head, that the distractions of the Kingdome might be composed by the due observation and execution of the Laws, We found things farre more out of order then We left them, and Our good Subjects more puzzled to know their duties: Orders had been made in the House of Commons & published in derogation of the book of Common Prayer, and for suspension of those Laws in force which concerned the government of the Church; and though another Order of the Lords was likewise published according to Law, for the due observation of the Laws established, and for suppressing those disorders, which were every day breaking out by faction of mean loose persons, against the divine Service appointed by Law, the House of Commons took upon them publickly to declare against that Order, because it was onely made with the consent of eleaven Lords, and that nine other Lords did then dissent from it; whereas in truth the said Order was made in a full House in *January* before, and onely ordered then by that difference of number to be printed, after the House of Commons had made (in a
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very thin House, and after it had been rejected by Vote) that illegall Order, for such Alteration in the Church; and if in truth it had been then made, and but by the ods of two voices, being in pursuance of the Law, all men will think it of much more validitie then any Order of the House of Commons against the Law, which in truth hath no Authoritie to make any Orders in businesse of that nature; and therefore the publishing that Order and Declaration of the ninth of *September*, must be confessed by all men, to be such a breach and violation of the Priviledge of the Peers House (besides the affront offered to Vs, and injurie to Our good Subjects, and to the Law by it) that before this Parliament was never heard of, and was an apparent evidence that they meant the whole managery of the Kingdome, and the Legislative power should be undertaken by the House of Commons, without the consent either of Vs, or Our Nobilitie; yet the execution of this Order was with great diligence and animositie pressed upon Our good Subjects, and many troubled and imprisoned for not submitting thereunto.

When they had made this breach upon the Ecclesiasticall State, they took care (under pretence of incouragement of Preaching) to erect Lectures in severall Parishes, and to commend such Lecturers as best suited with their designs, men of no Learning, no Conscience, but furious promoters of the most dangerous Innovations which were ever induced into any State, many of them having taken no Orders, yet recommended by Members of either House to Parishes, as to *Leusham* in *Kent*, and many other places; and when Mechanick persons have been brought before them for preaching in Churches, and confessed the same, the power of these Grand Reformers hath been so great, that they have been dismissed without punishment, hardly with

with reprehension. All persons of learning, and eminency in Preaching, of sober and virtuous Conversations, and great Examples in their lives, even such as amongst these men had been of greatest estimation and suffered somewhat for them, were discountenanced, and such men principally cherished who boldly and seditiously preached against the Government of the Church, against the Book of Common Prayer, against Our Kingly Lawfull Power, and against Our Person, many of which were commended to (if not imposed upon) Parishes, first by speciall letters, and earnest solicitations from the prime Leaders of this turbulent Faction, after by Orders, requiring such Ministers as would not accept their recommendation to attend and shew cause; All licence was given to those lewd, seditious Pamphlets, which despised the Government both of Church and State, which laid any imputations or scornis upon Our Person or Office, and which filled the ears of all Our good Subjects with lies, and monstrous discourses, to make them believe all the ill of the Government, and Governours of Church and State; Books against the Book of Common Prayer, and the established Laws of the Land suffered without reprehension to be dedicated to both Houses of Parliament; whatsoever the rancour and venome of any infamous person could digest, published without controul, and nothing discountenanced and reproched but a dutifull regard of Vs, and Our Honour, and a sober esteem and application to the Laws of the Kingdome.

This was the condition we found at our return from Scotland, besides a strange groundlesse apprehension of danger infused generally into the minds of Our good Subjects, as if some notable designe were in hand against the Parliament, against the City of London, against the whole Kingdome of *England*. Then fell out an accident, whilest

we were in *Scotland*, concerning the Marquesses of *Hamilton* and *Argyle*: These two Lords, upon some information given to them, that there Persons were in danger, upon a sudden withdrew themselves from the Parliament in *Scotland*, and for some few dayes removed out of *Edenbrough*. Whatever they had been informed, and whatever they suspected, and the grounds of both were very fully examined by the Parliament there, their Persons being of that quality and estimation in that Kingdome that they were sure of Justice: upon the whole, themselves and the Parliament were satisfied that the Information first given to them could not be made good to the proof of any designe to the danger of those Lords, and the examinations of the whole matter sent by Our direction to Our Parliament here. How (if all had been true that was imagined) this businesse could so highly and nearly concern the Peace of this Kingdome, and the present safety of both Our Houses of Parliament, We cannot imagine; yet upon the first report of it here, (which was the day before the first meeting after the recess) without staying to heare the opinion of Our Parliament there, who used all diligence in the examination, or of Our Parliament here, such strange glosses and interpretations were made upon that accident (not without reflection upon Vs, and Our Honour) as if at the same time there had been such a designe to have been executed here, as they had fancied to themselves that to be, and a sudden resolution was taken, first by the Committee during the recess, after by the Houses to have a Guard for the defence of *London, Westminster*, and both Our Houses of Parliament, which must needs make a great impression in the minds of Our good Subjects, in a time when they were newly freed from the fears of two Armies, to be awaked with the apprehension of dangers, of which seeing no ground, they were to expect no end.

Matters being thus stated, and all possible skill being used by that Faction, and their Emissaries of the Clergy (who at the same time such clamour was raised of the unlawfulness that the Clergy should meddle in temporall Affairs, were their chief Agents to derive their seditious directions to the People, and were all the week attending the doores of both Houses to be imployed in their errands) to infuse the most desperate fears into the minds of all men that could be imagined, to be sure that the memory of former bitterness might not depart, they provide for Our entertainment against we should come to *London*, to present Vs with a *Remonstrance* (as they called it) *of the State of the Kingdome*; laying before Vs, and publishing to all the world, all the mistakes, and all the misfortunes which had happened from Our first coming to the Crown, and before to that houre, forgetting the blessed condition (notwithstanding the unhappy mixture) all Our Subjects had enjoyed in the benefit of Peace and Plenty under Vs, to the envy of Christendome; objecting to Vs the Actions of some, and the thoughts of others, and reproching Vs with matters which indeed never entred into Our thoughts, nor to Our knowledge into the thoughts of any other; reviling Vs to the People, and complaining to Vs of the House of Peers, (whose authority, interest and priviledge, was then as much slighted and despised, as Ours is since) and easily passing over those singular Acts of Our Grace passed by Vs this Parliament, or ascribing them to their own wisdom in the procurement, they concluded against a Malignant party, and that they had no hope of settling the distractions of the Kingdome, for want of concurrence with the House of Peers; and that concurrence was desperate by reason of the prevalency of the Bishops, and of the Recusant Lords, into which number all those Lords were cast who presumed to dissent

dissent from any propositions made by the House of Commons. When this engine was prepared for the people by the prime Leaders of that desperate Faction, it was presented to the House of Commons, and the greatest industry and skill used that is imaginable, by private solicitations, threats, and promises to procure consent that it might be passed by that House, and after a long debate (longer then ever was known in Parliament, till three of the clock in the morning from ten the day before, when very many through wearinesse and weaknesse were forced to leave the House, so that it looked (as was well said) like the verdict of a starved Jury) they carried it by cleaven voices, and shortly, within very few dayes after Our return (when We had been received with all possible expressions of joy by Our citie of London, which was publicly murmured against, and the chief advancers of that dutie and affection discountenanced, (as if they envied Us the Loyaltie of Our people) and when it was publicly said in the House of Commons upon some dispute of a pretended breach of the Orders of the House, *That their discipline ought to be severe, for the enemy was in view*, that Remonstrance was presented to Us at Our Court at Hampton Court by some Members of the House of Commons, with a Petition (contracting the sharp language in the Remonstrance into lesse room) amongst other things, That we would concurre with Our people for depriving the Bishops of their Votes in the Parliament (for which there was then no Bill passed both Houses) and to imploy such persons about Us as Our Parliament might confide in. We received this strange Petition and stranger Remonstrance graciously from the hands of the Presenters, promised them an Answer, and in the mean time desired that the Remonstrance might not be published to the people, the thing it self and the printing any thing

of the like nature being never heard of by the direction of the House of Commons till this Parliament, it being the first appeal to the people, and of a dangerous consequence to Parliaments themselves: But (as in other things neither Our desires or Commands have been considered) without giving Us leisure to answer either the one or the other, speciall direction is given for the printing that Remonstrance, and equall care taken for the publishing it in all places and parts of the Kingdome.

Having taken this care for the shaking and perplexing the minds of all men, the next work was to get such a power into their hands as might govern and dispose of those affections. To this purpose they had from the beginning of the Parliament (by reason of some Complaints against the immoderate exercise of the Authoritie of the Lieutenants and their Deputies, in raising Coat and Conduct money and some excesses in them) severall debates in the diminution of the Office it self, but still grounded upon the illegall pressures used by them, & upon some words in the Commission it self, which (though of long usage in very happy dayes) were conceived not agreeable to the Law; but they were so farre from supposing the Office it self or the Commission to be illegall, that both Houses of Parliament had recommended two Lords to Us, and desired Our Commission to make them Lords Lieutenants of *Yorkshire* and *Dorsetshire*, the onely end seeming then to be that good and approved men should be in these employments and trusts: But at last they resolved against the Office it self, and would think of some other way to provide for the safetie of the Kingdome in that point. And in this they had a double end: First to fright all persons (Members of both Houses who had been Lieutenants, and Deputy Lieutenants) to comply with them in their Votes,

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lest they should be called in question for the execution of those Offices (a stratagem they had found to engage many persons to their opinions, as Sheriffs for the collecting Shipmoney, and all other persons, who in truth were or might be made obnoxious to their power) then, that by unsettling that whole businesse of the *Militia* throughout the Kingdome, they might the more easily bring in their own power of governing it as they have since endeavoured to do; and thereupon they presumed to bring in such a Bill into the House of Commons to place a Generall at Land, and an Admirall at Sea by Act of Parliament, with such Power and Authoritie over the lives and fortunes of all Our Subjects as should be lyable to no controul, nor to be questioned by any superintendent hand, with a prepardon for whatsoever they should do under colour of those Offices; either of which Officers should have been a much greater man then Our Self, and commanded in Our Kingdome above Us. The matter of which Bill, to shew their designe, is since digested into their new Generalls Commission, and the pretended Ordinance to the Earl of *Warwick*. And all this was then pretended to be a matter of absolute necessity for the preservation of Us and Our Kingdome; but at that time it could procure no other credit then to be suffered to rest in the House, as an evidence of the libertie might be used in the preferring of Bills. They had by this time taken all the licence at their private Caballs to undervalue and vilifie Our Person and Our Power, and in publick to give way and Countenance to any scandals upon Us: Letters from the Major of *Plimouth* that the Rebels in *Ireland* call themselves the Queens Armie, and pretend the Kings Authoritie for what they do; and store of such discourses upon such evidence is every week printed in the Journalls of the House, which without doubt must be

of great Authority with Our people, who must conceive such Informations to be not onely fully and clearly proved, but to be accepted and published upon very weighty reasons, above the Consideration of Our Honour and Safety.

And now they were to examine what notable Credit their Remonstrance, and their other generall Infusions had got with the people, and how ready they would be upon occasions to venture themselves at their direction: They had made themselves so terrible in the House of Commons, that by their threats, and their promises of places and preferments to severall men, and by the absence of many, they had gotten the major part, but in the House of Lords their power was not the same; that must be wrought another way; yet there they had used all means to prevail upon the hopes and fears of such who they thought might that way be dealt with, witnesse among many other things of the same nature, that insolent speech of M. *Pim* to the Earl of *Dover*, *That if he looked for any preferment, he must comply with them in their wayes, and not hope to have it by serving Us.*

Shortly after their coming together upon the recess, a new Bill was preferred in the House of Commons, for the taking away the votes of Bishops out of the House of Peers, which being once rejected before, ought not by the course and Order of Parliament to have been admitted again the same Session: but that was easily overruled, and in the House of Commons it did passe; many good men the more willingly concurring therein, upon hope that that Bill being once consented to, the fury of that Faction which with so great violence pursued an absolute destruction of the Ecclesiasticall Government, would be abated, or that the rage being discerned they would lose that strength which supported them. But the Lords quickly found that the Ringleaders of that Faction had not ingenuity enough
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to be compounded with, and therefore with them it was not like to find so easie a passage. Now their resort was to the people, whom upon severall occasions they had trained down to *Westminster* in great multitudes with swords and clubs, and had often sent for them when any debate was like to be carried against them in either House, the particulars whereof We are ready to prove.

Every man will conceive, We were in a great strait to find Our Self so much disappointed of that return, the conscioufnesse of Our own merit, and the many glorious professions made by both Houses, bid Vs to expect: We saw the Laws absolutely trampled under feet, and a designe laid to ruine the Government of the Kingdome, and to destroy Vs and Our Posterity: We saw this designe carried by a few men, whose hatred and malice to Our Person We found implacable, and their contempt of Vs and Our Authority so visible and notorious, that they forbore not to expresse it in their mention of Vs in all Companies: We saw their Power and Interest to be so great, that they were able to mislead very many honest men, and to countenance their Actions under the name of both Houses of Parliament: We were resolved that nothing they should do within those walls should provoke Us, till time and the experience good men should have of them should discover their purposes; therefore We applyed Our Self onely to the Law, hoping that the insolence and licentiousnesse of the people might by Our help be curbed by that Rule. The Tumults grew so notorious and so dangerous, that they threatned and assaulted the Members of both Houses, whereupon the House of Peers (which it seems the Lords present at the passing of one of their late Declarations, wherein they denie there having been any Tumults, had forgot) at a conference with the House of Commons twice
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very earnestly desired that they would for the dignitie of Parliaments joyn with them in a Declaration for the suppressing such Tumults ; but the prevalency of that Faction was so great, that though complaint was made by Members in the House of Commons, that they had been assaulted and evil intreated by those People even at the doore of their House, in stead of joyning with the Lords for the suppressing or punishing them, severall speeches were made in justification of them, & commending their Affections, saying, *They must not discourage their friends, this being a time they must make use of all their friends:* and M. Pim saying, *God forbid, that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way:* which he had good reason to say, himself and those other persons whom we afterwards accused of High Treason, having by great sollicitation and encouragement caused those multitudes to come down in that manner. The Lords having in vain tried this way, appoint (upon the advice of the Judges) that a Writ be directed to the Sheriff and Justices upon divers Statutes (which issued accordingly) to suppress and hinder all tumultuous resort; in obedience to which the Justices and other Ministers appoint the Constables to attend about *Westminster* to hinder that unlawfull conflux of people. This was no sooner done, but the Constables and Justices of the Peace were sent for by the House of Commons, the setting such a watch voted to be a Breach of Priviledge, and before any conference with the Lords, by whose direction that Legall Writ issued out, the watch discharged, and one of the Justices, for doing his duty according to that Writ, sent to the Tower.

About the same time there was a tumultuous Assembly of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries called together by the sound of a Bell into a place in *Southwark*, where the

the Arms and Magazine for that Borough were kept, the Constable knowing such meetings to be unlawfull, and the consequences of them (especially in such places) to be very dangerous, came amongst them; he was no sooner come, but he was reproched with words, beaten, and dragged in a very barbarous manner, insomuch as he had hardly escaped from them with his life: complaint was made by him to the next Justices, and oath made of the truth of that complaint, whereupon a Writ was sent to the Sheriff to impa-
 nell a Jury according to the Law for the examination, and finding of this Riot. This was complained of too; and the meeting (in how tumultuous and disorderly a manner soever) pretended to be onely for the drawing of a Petition against Bishops, and that the Constable was a friend to Bishops, and came to crosse them, and to hinder men from subscribing that Petition. Hereupon an Order was made in the House of Commons, and the Under-Sheriff of *Surrey* by it enjoyned, that he should not suffer any proceedings to be made upon any inquisition that might concern any persons who met together to subscribe a Petition to be preferred to that House. What authority the House of Commons had or have to send any such Injunctions, We cannot conceive; yet by this any disorderly persons (let their intentions and demeanours be never so seditious) are above the reach of the Law and Justice, if they please to say they meet to prepare any Petition to the House of Commons. And 'tis no wonder, if after all this care taken to remove all those obstacles the Law had put in the way to such Tumults, all people took upon them to visit Our Parliament in such manner as they thought fit, and thereupon great multitudes of mutinous people every day resorted to *Westminster*, threatned to pull down the lodgings where divers of the Bishops lay, assaulted some in their Coaches,

chased others with boats by water, laid violent hands on the Archbishop of York in his passing to the House, and had he not been rescued by force, it is probable they had murdered him; crying through the streets, *Westminster-Hall*, and between the two Houses, *No Bishops, no Bishops, no Popish Lords*; and misused the severall Members of either House, who, they were informed, favoured not their desperate and seditious ends, proclaiming the names of severall of the Peers, as *evil and rotten-hearted Lords*; attempting the defacing the Abbey at *Westminster* with great violence, & in their return from thence made a stand before Our Gate at *Whitehall*, said, *they would have no more Porters Lodge, but would speak with the King when they pleased*, and used such desperate rebellious discourse, that We had great reason to believe Our own Person, Our Royall Consort, & Our Children to be in evident danger of violence; and therefore were compelled at Our great Charge to entertain a Guard for securing Vs from that danger: and yet all this danger is so slighted, that We are told in the last Declaration, after We have so often urged it, *That it is a suggestion as false as the Father of lies can invent.*

These licentious and unpunished Tumults gave occasion to the Bishops (who could not repair to the House without danger of their lives) to make that their Protestation, for the which they were forthwith accused of High Treason by the House of Commons, and committed to the Tower by the House of Peers, where they continued for the space of foure Moneths at the least. That small Guard we had taken for Our necessary safety, and the resort of some Officers (who attended both Our Houses of Parliament for money due to them by Act of Parliament and upon the publick faith) to Our Court for Our defence against those Tumults, was objected against Vs, and divers counterfeit

Letters

Letters were written, and senselesse fears infused into the Citizens of *London*, that We had a Designe of Actuall violence upon that Citie, and thereupon they were drawn into Arms, and put upon their Guard against Vs; so that there was not onely no provision made for the suppressing of Tumults, but that provision the Law had made against them discountenanced and taken away, and We Our Self censured for taking so much strength about Vs, as might for some time oppose such force as was like to be offered to Our own Gates. What should We do? We very well knew the Contrivers of all these mischiefs, who had by their exceeding Industry and Malice wrought this distraction throughout the Kingdome, such a defection of Allegiance in the Common people, such a damp of Trade in the Citie, and so horrid a Confusion in the Church, and all this to satisfie their own private ends, and Ambition; for themselves know what overtures have been made by them, and with what importunitie, for Offices and Preferments, what great services should have been done for Vs, and what other undertakings were (even to have saved the life of the Earl of *Strafford*) if We would conferre such Offices upon them: We were sure We could make such particular proofs against them of a solemn Commission entred into by them for altering the Government of the Church and State; of their designing Offices to themselves and other men; of their soliciting and drawing down the Tumults to *Westminster*, and of their bidding the people in the height of their rage and fury to go to *White-Hall*; of their scornfull and odious mention of Our Person, and their Designe of getting Our Sonne the Prince into their hands; of their treating with forein Power to assist them, if they should fail in their enterprizes: Yet We saw so that their Interest and Reputation was so great with

many of both Houses of Parliament, their Power so absolute with a multitude of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries about *London*, who were ready to appear in a bodie at their Command, that it would be a hard matter to proceed against them.

In this strait We resolved to do Our part in both, to give Our People a clear satisfaction of Our upright intentions to the publick, whereby they should find their happinesse did not at all depend on such Instruments; & to proceed against the Persons of the other in a Legall way, that all the world might see what Ambition, Malice, and Sedition had been hid under the vizard of Conscience and Religion. Hereupon We prepared an Answer to the Remonstrance the House of Commons had before published to the People of the State of the Kingdome, wherein without taking notice of the uncomely Language in, and the Circumstances of that Remonstrance, We declared with as gracious and full expressions as We could make, Our earnest Resolutions for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, the Libertie and Propertie of the Subject, and the Law of the Land, and made no lesse gracious offers to consent to any Act that should be offered for the ease of tender Consciences in matters indifferent, and very earnestly desired that the same might be provided, and whatever else should be thought necessary for the Peace and Security of Our People, and then that We might likewise manifest the Actions of that Malignant Partie, which had done so much mischief, and intended so much more, We resolved to accuse the Lord *Kimbolton*, M. *Hollis*, M. *Pim*, M. *Hampden*, and M. *Strode* (who had so maliciously contrived the ruine of Our Self and the established Government of this Church and Kingdome) and Sir Arthur *Hast* *rigge* (who had been made their Instrument to obey & execute

cute their bold and wild Designes) of high Treason, as We had great reason to do, hoping that the duty due to Vs, and the obligations We had put upon Our People this Parliament, would never suffer the Interest and Reputation of these men to be laid in the Scale and to overweigh Our Regall Authoritie, and the Law of the Land, but that We should have found a way open to a fair and legall Tryall of them, which was all We desired.

How Our proceedings was in that businesse and Our managery of it, We have truly and at large set forth in Our Answer to the Declaration of both Houses of the 19. of May; That what We did first in acquainting the House of Commons with Our Accusation by Our Serjeant at Arms, was in correspondence and out of regard to that House, that We might rather have them delivered to the hands of Justice by them, then apprehend them by an ordinary Minister of Justice, which We were and are assured, what ever Doctrine is preached to the contrary, We might well have done in the Case of Treason, otherwise that Maxime in the Law, acknowledged in a Petition of both Houses to Vs in the beginning of Our Reigne in the case of the Earl of *Arundell*, That in case of Treason, Felony, and breach of Peace, Priviledge of Parliament doth not extend, is of no signification. The words are, *They find it an undoubted Right and constant Priviledge of Parliament, that no Member of Parliament (sitting the Parliament or within the usuall times of Priviledge of Parliament) is to be imprisoned or restrained, without Sentence or Order of the House, unlesse it be for Treason, Felony, or for refusing to give Sureties for the Peace.* In those cases 'twas then thought a Member of either House was not to be distinguished from another Subject. And why We might not as well have expected that upon Our Articles (not so generall as a mere verball Accusation) of high Treason,

either House would have committed their severall Members, as they had done so many this Parliament, and about that time twelve together (upon a confessed ground, which every man there who knew what Treason was knew that fact to be none) merely because they were accused; and as the House of Peers had formerly done a Member of that House (the Earl of *Bristol*) accused in the same manner, most of the good Lords being then Judges, We neither could then, nor can yet understand: That Our coming to the House was to prevent that shedding of blood which in all probability was like to follow that Order made the night before for resisting all such Officers who endeavoured (upon how legall warrant soever) to arrest any Members of either House (an Order much more unjustifiable by any rule of Law and Justice, by which Orders or Acts are to be examined, then any thing We have done, or any body by Our Authority) That Our purpose was no other but to acquaint that House with the matter of Our Accusation, to desire their Persons might be secured; and without any thought of the least violation of their Priviledges. This is that which We did. Examine now their part, and their Progresse since, and then judge whose Priviledges have been invaded, and with how good a mind to the Commonwealth they have proceeded.

We were no sooner gone, but the House adjourned it self with some unusuall expressions of offence, and We were speedily informed that some Reports and Scandalls were raised against Vs in Our City of *London*, that We had offered violence to Our House of Commons, came thither with force to murder severall Members, and used threatening speeches there against Our Parliament, and that this was but a Preface to an attempt We meant to make against and upon the City. Whereupon We resolved the next day to

go to the Guildhall, & to shew the great confidence We had in the Affections of Our said City (which We expected should have begot a proportionable confidence from them in Vs) We went attended with very few of Our own Servants, and then in the presence of the Lord Major, the Aldermen, and a very great Assembly of the chief Citizens and others, We made them a full Narration of what We had done the day before, and assured them that We intended no proceedings, but such as were most agreeable to the Law of the Land, and the priviledge of Parliament. This Demeanour of Ours We thought would have given satisfaction to all Our loving Subjects, that if in truth We had erred in the form of Our proceedings, yet Our intentions were full of Justice and regard to the generall Law of the Land, from which We shall never willingly swerve. But in stead of any application to inform Our Judgement, wherein We had erred, and how We were to proceed, both Our Houses of Parliament under the Title of Committees adjourned themselves to the Guild-hall, and afterwards to Grocers-hall; the Persons accused remove themselves into the City, as to a Sanctuary, and there manage and contrive busineses to their own ends: They cause Discourses to be published, and insusions to be made of incredible danger to the City and Kingdome by that Our coming to the House: an Alaram was given to the City in the dead time of the night, that We were coming with Horse and Foot thither, and thereupon the whole City put in Arms: And hoever the envy seemed to be cast upon the Designes of the Papists, mention was onely made of Actions of Our own. Their seditious Preachers and Agents are by them and their speciall and particular directions sent into the severall Counties to infuse those fears and jealousies into the minds of Our good Subjects, with Petitions ready drawn

drawn by them for the People to signe, which were yet many times by them changed three or foure times before the delivery upon accidents and occurrences of either or both Houses. And when many of Our poore deceived People of Our severall Counties have come to Our City of *London* with a Petition so framed, altered, and signed as aforesaid, that Petition hath been suppressed, and a new one ready drawn hath been put into their hands, after their coming to Town, (insomuch as few of the company have known what they petitioned for) & hath been by them presented to one or both Our Houses of Parliament, as that of *Bedfordshire* and *Buckinghamshire*, witnesse those Petitions; and amongst the rest that of *Hartfordshire*, which took notice of matters agreed on, or dissented from the night before the delivery, which was hardly time enough to get so many thousand hands, and to travel to *London* in that Errand. The accused Members, to shew how much they were above Vs, and the reach of the Law, march with a Guard of Armed men to the place where the Committee sat, sit with them, and govern those Counsels. First they procure a Declaration to be set forth and printed from the Committee (without being reported to the House, contrary to all Custome and Priviledge of Parliament, and against the Law it self) with very strange expressions of Our Carriage, and upon the matter requiring all People to assist them. This they cause to be sent into the City to the Common Councill, which by the undue practices of Captain *Venne*, and Mr. *Fulkes*, since made Alderman for his good service, (their principall Agents) they had caused to be altered by putting out the gravest and most substantiall Citizens, and taking in Persons of desperate fortunes and opinions, who they knew would concurre with them in their more desperate Actions: (the same Designe and the same way pursued

to make the City of *London* at their disposall, as had been practised in the House of Commons to work upon the whole Kingdome) and with this Common Councill correspondence is kept for the setting of unusuall Watches, placing of Guards in severall places of the City, as if some desperate attempt and assault were to be made upon the whole City by Vs, who were known scarce to have a Guard strong enough to preserve Our own House from violence. A Commander is appointed under the title of Serjant Major Generall; and as if all men were now by their new Protestation made Judges of the Priviledges of Parliament, and the breaches thereof, and absolved from all rules of Obedience, speciall provision is made, and publick direction is given for drawing down the Trainbands of Our City of *London* to *Westminster* on a day appointed to guard, and bring in triumph the Persons accused of high Treason, as such worthy Patriots, that the Common-wealth it self could not subsist, but with reference to them; who in their Discourses, and by their Messages to their Confederates expressed the greatest scorn of, and the most treasonable reproches against Vs, that can be imagined.

When We understood this horrid preparation made against Us, the Power it was evident these Persons had to do hurt, and the malice We knew they bore against Our Person (which We had too great reason to fear they intended to seise) We resolved to yield for the present to this Storm, and so the day before their coming to *Westminster*, We withdrew Our Person, with Our Royall Consort, and Our Children to Our House at *Hampton Court*, and the rather lest the Courage and Indignation of some of Our good Subjects might (how weakly soever, yet with the effusion of blood) have opposed that great scorn intended Vs; and believing that possibly by Our remo-

ving with all such Persons whose presence was excepted against, and discharging that small Guard which the Tumults had forced Vs to take for Our safety, and which was urged as an argument of danger, and ground of the generall fears, might at least lessen their appearance the next day: But these powerfull Persons would by no means conceal their triumph over Vs, but the next day are guarded from their Residence in the City with multitudes of armed men, and Ammunition, in a Hostile and Warlike manner to *Westminster*. The same care and industrie was used to provoke and incense Our Mariners, Masters of Ships, and other Seamen, who were solicited by the Agents for the accused Persons, and by their speciall direction to expresse their affection likewise to the Cause in hand. And thereupon near one hundred Lighters, and Long-boats were set out by water, laden with Sacres, murdering Pieces, and other Ammunition dressed up with Mastclothes, and Streamers, as ready for fight. And in this Array these men by water, and the Souldiers by land cryed out, as they passed by, that they would thus protect and defend those Worthy Gentlemen, whom We had accused of High Treason, and as they passed by Our windows at *Whitehall*, skornfully asked *What was become of Vs, whither We were gone?* In this Equipage they came to both Houses, where 'tis no wonder they have been since able to govern, having given such testimony of their power both by land and water. Let all the world judge by what Law this Army was raised, and whether any Act of Ours against these Persons was as unwarrantable as these proceedings.

We bore all this, being so much amazed at these distractions, that We could not easily find what colour the malice of these men had found out thus to outface Vs, not yet conceiving We had broke any Priviledge, or that the
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casuall breaking of Priviledge could have produced such prodigious distempers: But We were no sooner advertised where Our mistaking was, but without recrimination or complaining of the Injuries against Our Self, We sent to both Houses on the twelfth and fourteenth of *January* by Message, that in Our proceeding against those persons We had not the least intimation of violating their Priviledges, which We would be willing to assert by any reasonable way We should be advised; that We would wave Our former proceedings against them, and when the minds of men should be composed, would proceed in an unquestionable way; in the mean time desired all jealousies might be laid aside, and application be made to the publick and pressing affairs, especially to those of *Ireland*, which cried for the utmost of Our assistance. But it concerned those persons by no means to suffer such a composition: If these fears and jealousies were not kept up, and inflamed in the People, and the distractions heightened, they knew they should not onely be disappointed of the Places, Offices, Honours, and Employments they had promised themselves, but be exposed to the justice of the Law, and just hatred of all good men. Therefore the businesse of both Kingdomes was not considerable to the Interests of the six Members, who would be thought the Pillars both of Church and State. They had now found a danger nearer hand then *Ireland*, and an Army raised by Vs in one night at Kingstone upon Thames: and upon some extravagant information, pretended to be given to a Committee, (though some of their pretended witnesses publicly in the House disavowed any such testimonie) they procured an Order to be framed, and though before the publishing of it they had full and clear Evidence to the contrary by Persons come immediately from the place, and testifying it to be most quiet and

peaceable, they yet had power to procure that Order to be published on the thirteenth of *January* (the next day after they had received so gracious a Message from Vs) declaring that the Lord *Digby* and Colonel *Lunsford* (the former of which was in the Town onely with a Coach and six horses, the other onely attended by his Servant, and hath been since earnestly pressed by the Serjeant of the House of Commons (in whose custodie he was) to accuse the Lord *Digby*, with promises that thereby himself should be discharged) had gathered Troops of Horse, and appeared in a warlike manner at *Kingstone* upon *Thames* (being within a mile of Our Court) to the terrour and affrightment of Our good Subjects, and to the disturbance of the publick Weal of the Kingdome: And therefore it was ordered that the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace should, with the assistance of the Trained bands, suppress such Assemblies, &c. And this way they found out to draw that County to affront Vs, and sent multitudes of mean People, under pretence of petitioning Vs, to shew Vs how unsecure Our Residence was like to be there too, and so in a short time compelled Vs, Our Royall Consort, and Our Children to remove to Our Castle at *Windsor*. They proceed then by a close Committee (a thing scarce heard of till this Parliament, and of dangerous Consequence to the fame and reputation of all men) to examine such mean, unknown persons as they had by threats and promises solicited to that purpose, concerning the Circumstances of Our coming to the House, exhibiting bold and malicious Interrogatories and Questions concerning Our Self, and upon such wild Informations of desperate Persons, contrary to the known truth, and concealing other examinations which they had taken, and by which the contrary to what they would have the People believe would have appeared, particularly that
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very full examination of Captain *Ashley*, wherein Our publick and peremptory Commands against all manner of violence (though provoked) are sufficiently manifested; they procured an Infamous Declaration to be published by the House of Commons (for the House of Peers could not be yet prevailed with to joyn in those extravagancies) on the seventeenth of *January*, mentioning Our coming to the House, and some rude expressions of some Persons (who if there were any such Persons there, We are most confident they were not of Our Train) and would inferre from some mens calling for the Word at Our coming out of the House (which is a form used in Our Court, that those of Our Train who are before may know when and whither they are to go) that We had a purpose to have fallen upon the House of Commons, and to have cut all their throats, and do therefore Declare, That Our coming to the House was a trayterous designe against the King and Parliament; That Our Proclamation, issued out for the Apprehension of them, was false, scandalous, and illegall; That it was lawfull for all men to harbour them, and that whosoever did so should be under the Protection and Priviledge of Parliament, with many other expressions of, and aspersions upon Vs, which they hoped would render Vs odious to Our good Subjects, and force Vs for Our Safety to submit to such unreasonable Propositions which amongst themselves they had provided to be offered to Us, or provoke Vs to such Actions as might give them some advantage. To keep the People in a continuall Alaram and apprehension of danger, few dayes passed without some pretended Discovery, by *Sr. Walter Earl*, or other quick-sighted men, of some Treason or Plot against the Parliament, the Citie, or the Kingdome; and upon every light and impossible information, many of Our Subjects sent for out of severall Counties,

who after chargeable Attendance were dismissed without any reparation or reprehension. One day the Tower of *London* is in danger to be taken, and Information given that great multitudes, at least a hundred, had that day resorted to visit a Priest, then a Prisoner there by Order of the Lords, and that at the time of the information above fifty or threescore were then there, and a Warder dispatched of purpose to give that notice: upon enquiry, but foure Persons were then found to be there, and but eight all that day, who had visited that Priest. Another day a Taylour in a ditch, in the open fields, over-heares two Passengers to plot the death of M. *Pim*, and of many other Members of both Houses. Then libellous Letters found in the streets without names (probably contrived by themselves, and by their power published, printed, and entred in their Journalls) and intimations given of the Papists training under ground, and of notable provision of Ammunition in Houses, where, upon examination, a single Sword, and a Bow and Arrows are found: A designe of the Inhabitants of *Covengarden* to murder the Citie of *London*; News from *France, Italie, Spain*, and *Denmark*, of Armies ready to come for *England*, with infinite such ridiculous Discourses, which are not onely suffered and directed to be printed, but such countenance and credit given to them, that thereupon Guards must be doubled, correspondencies and letters interrupted and broken open, even of and to forein Ministers of State and Embassadours, to the scandall of the Nation, and against the Laws of Society and civill Conversation; a Committee appointed for Information, where liberty hath been taken, without any accusatiō or complaint extent, to examine the discourses passed at meals and entertainmenas, what words such a man spoke, and such other monstrous things, as in a short time will render life it self unplea-

unpleasant, and make every Room and every Table a bait to betray men, and to bring them to ruine and destruction; insomuch as persons have been sent and imployed by Members of that Committee, on purpose to the tables of Persons of Honour and Qualitie, to inquire, observe, and inform what language and freedome was there used, whilst these Worthy accused Members took the libertie to themselves in all their private meetings, and by their letters, to deprave and slander Our Person, to contrive the alteration of the Government of the Church and State, to treat with forein Power to assist them as soon as their Designes should be ripe, to labour by promises and threats to bring the severall Members of either House to their Opinion, and to raise scandalls upon, and to plot danger and ruine for those who were of another opinion.

And having now by these Acts disquieted and distracted the People abroad, and made them fit to receive any impressions from them, they proceed to work upon the Members of both Houses with infinite Industry and Applications, that they might be able to get the reputation of consent from them, to encourage and set the People a work, if We refused to consent with them. They had removed as many Members from them of a contrary opinion as they could, and had used all means to get men who would be disposed by them into their rooms. If they found any such Lord, who had not a name in their List of the good Lords, were like to have any influence upon a place where an Election was to be, presently an Order was conceived and published that no Letters from any Nobleman ought to be written in such cases, and if written to be neglected; but would by no means consent that this Order should conclude those of the House of Commons, lest M. *Pim*, or any of those blessed Members might not write in the behalf of the Common-

Commonwealth, for a Worthy Gentleman. If any Elections were questioned, whereby they were like to lose a man at their disposall, such busineses and questions were of too private a nature to interrupt their proceedings; so neither the Election of *Newcastle*, *Warwick*, *Windsor*, and very many other places, for whom Persons serve without and against the consent of the Burroughs for whom they have got themselves returned or admitted, can be heard or considered. If the Election of any such Persons hath been heard at the Committee, and they Voted out of the House, as unduly chosen or returned, they will by no means suffer such a Report to be made, lest a good Member should be lost, as in the case of *M. Nicholls* (*M. Pims* Nephew) and others. Are they concerned in the contrary, and is any man returned & admitted whom they would be rid of, and against whom the least pretence is made? straight a day is appointed, no businesse so great as fit to be a cause to keep a Worthy Member from the service of his Countie; this is the case of *Andover* and other places. They rid themselves of those (how justly soever elected) whose opinions are not suitable, nor their dispositions weak and guilty enough to be wrought upon: Their next Conquest must be of those whom they could under any generall Vote conclude to be obnoxious to the justice (and so to be within the mercy) of the Parliament; to this purpose their terrible Votes (which they keep as Rods over them, having never proceeded against any) against all those Lords who had concurred in such an Order at the Councel Table, or such a Censure in the Starre Chamber; against all Lords, Lieutenants, and their Deputies, who had raised Coat and Conduct money; against all Sheriffs, who had levyed Ship-money; against all Lords and other who had been concerned in, or received profit by any Monopoly, or illegall Patten;

Patient, in a word, against all such who had meddled in any thing which their Interpretation would call grievous to the Subject, brought all Persons of either House, who had guilt enough to doubt themselves, or want of Spirit enough to fear them, either to be absent, or silent, or to comply with them; And if any man had the Courage to consider the single businesse justly, and by it self, they were straight making an Inquisition into his whole life, and preparing something against him, for matters of which their Favourers were equally guilty; and declared publicly, That what disservice soever any man had done formerly, if his present Actions were such as brought benefit to the Commonwealth, he ought not to be questioned for what was past, but cherished and protected. They had severall baits to catch and betray other men: Those who had been from the beginning deceived by them, and complied with them in their Passion, and been subtilly involved in some of their private Councils, they perswaded that they were so farre in, there was no retyring; that We would never forget the disservice they had done Vs, and therefore that there was no way to safety for themselves, but by weakning Vs, and putting themselves into such a condition as it should not be in Our Power to suppress them: To those who had publick thoughts about them, and desired the establishment of right equally between Vs and Our Subjects, and thought that right and favour they had obtained from Vs this Parliament could never be enjoyed by them with that Lustre and Securitie, if the power from which they received it were oppressed, or rendred of lesse veneration, they seemed abundantly satisfied with those Acts We had passed, that they had no further aim then to enjoy those, but that they had upon Our unwilling passing those Acts (which all the world knows to be an untruth most maliciously fra-

med) great reason to fear We meant not to observe them, when in truth We had by the Bill for the Trienniall Parliament put Our Self, and Our Posteritie (which We were willing to do) out of any possibilitie of destroying or not observing those good Laws: To those who were desirous to give that satisfaction to weak Consciences, that they might be eased of unnecessary Ceremonies, yet were scandalized at the profane and odious licence which the rabble of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries took to themselves of despising and reviling the Book of Common Prayer, of suffering Mechanick ignorant fellows to undertake publicly, even in Churches, to preach and expound the Scripture, they seemed no lesse to be disquieted at that disorder, but alledge that all reconciliation and union was to be embraced, and pursued against the common Enemy, the Papist (from whom the danger was principally to be feared) and when a perfect victorie was obtained against them, they should easily bring the other poore, harmlesse Creatures to Conformitie: Those who out of lazinesse, and vulgar spiritednesse were apt to complie with that Part, which was at last likely to prevail, they informed and assured confidently that they had those about Vs, who would at last perswade Vs to yield to all they demanded, and that all Places and Preferments should attend their directions, and be disposed by them, and that all such who opposed them, should be inevitably destroyed: Those whom neither their skill nor importunity, their threats nor their promises could prevail with to comply in their bad wayes, they proscribed as a Malignant Party, and having cast all the aspersions upon them folly and madnesse could devise, exposed them to be torn in pieces by the People. And having thus disposed themselves, and perplexed the People, they proceed to laying that foundation

foundation of Greatnesse and Power to themselves, they had from the beginning contrived, and as if all the Pillars, upon which the Peace, and Happinesse, and Being of this Kingdome was founded, were now shaken by the attempt against those six innocent Persons, and that all Our power was therefore to be transferred into other hands, they cause the matter of the bill formerly exhibited in *October* before, to be again revived; and now all the Forts, and Castles of the Kingdomes, and the whole Militia must be put into such hands, as they might confide in. A Garrison must be put into Our Town of *Hull*, and *Sr John Hotbom* appointed Governour of it, to whom the Major of *Tork* is ordered to dispose two thousand pounds out of the Polemoney, which was to pay the Arrears due to that County for Billet, and the great debt to Our Subjects of Scotland: And when the Major and principall Aldermen of *Hull* refuse to receive that Garrison, and urge the Petition of Right, that they may not be forced to billet those Souldiers, they are sent for to the House of Commons, and there kept in a tedious and chargeable Attendance, till the Garrison be taken in, being sent for to no other purpose. Our own Magazine must be managed and disposed by their discretion. The Towre of *London* must be put into their hands, and a Person against whom malice it self could not find the least accusation must be removed, for no other reason, but because Sr John
Byron. We had a good opinion of him.

They who are the strictest in the censure of Us, and of Our easinesse, will find upon this State of things, that We had enough to do, and that there was much difficulty to resolve. We will never deny that Our extreme tendernesse of the Peace of the Kingdome, and Our great grief of heart to see Our good Subjects misled in their duty and affection, begat more of Our Compassion and Pity then of Our Anger

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and Indignation, so that we were more awake to the sense of the calamity and misery which in all probability was like to befall them, then of Our own Honour and Dignity, and therefore without expressing the least resentment of all the scorns and injuries put upon Vs, and to shew how much Our Soul was possessed with the care of Our People, We sent a Message to both Our Houses of Parliament from *Windsor*, on the 20. of *January*, desiring them, for the composing the miserable Distractions of the Kingdome, to enter speedily into a serious Consideration of all particulars, as well those which might concern their Priviledges, their Liberty and their Property, the securing the true Religion, and the settling of Ceremonies, as those of Our just Regall Authority and Revenue, that so both We and they might make a clear judgement of them, and We might make it appear how farre We were from giving grounds for those Fears and Jealousies, by exceeding the examples of the most indulgent Princes in Our Acts of Grace and Favour to Our People. No body will blame Vs, if We expected at least such an Answer as might bring Vs and Our Houses of Parliament to an issue, that We might temperately debate what was to be done: But they who well knew the nature of their own Demands, and what they meant to insist upon, would by no means that things should be brought into so little room, or discover the particulars of their desires, till they saw what strength they were like to have to second those desires: Therefore a new Adjournment is made to *Grocers Hall*, to consult of evils and remedies, severall Petitions framed and contrived by these Persons themselves, are sent into the severall Counties, and Multitudes of People resort every day to both Houses with Petitions, avowing the Fears and Jealousies these men had infused into them, and desiring to have the Kingdome put into a posture

sture of Defence, and declaring their stout Resolutions to maintain the Priviledge of Parliament.

In this triumph, they vouchsafe to Petition Vs to proceed against the Members accused, or else that they might be publickly quit. We were resolved to give them no more advantage upon breach of Priviledge, and therefore desired to be informed which way We were to proceed, and whether We might preferre indictments against them at the Common Law: We were answered, That no proceeding should be against them without consent of that House of which they were Members, and therefore We were desired within three dayes to inform both Houses what proof We had against them, or else they should be cleared; and they had before caused their false, scandalous Declaration of the fourteenth of *January*, of Our coming to the House, to be new printed, together with the Protestation, and to be sent over the whole Kingdome by the Knights, and Burgeses, as if by the one they were obliged to defend the other. In this Case no man will believe We had reason to bring in Our proofs against these men, and to publish Our Evidence, when We were told, *It was in the power of the Major part to chuse whether they should be tryed or no*; and We might easily see, and all the world will judge by the proceedings then, and their publick expressions since, whether if We had proved a Conspiracy amongst them to have taken away Our life, they would not have found some distinction between Our Person and Our Office, which should have preserved these persons from the hand & course of Justice. And to what other end should that doctrine be published with so much passion, *That in Case of Treason We might not proceed against any Member but by consent of the House*, (so contrary to Custome, Law, and Reason) but to let all men know it should not be in Our power to question

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them for any thing they should do against Vs, let the Law
 be never so clear in the point. Vpon all these considerati-
 ons, rather then to waste time in the dispute, when they are
 resolved to be their own Judges too, We sent them word
 by Our Answer to their Petition of the second of *Februa-*
ry, That We found We had good cause to desert any pro-
 secution of those Members, and further offered to grant
 such a free and a generall pardon to all Our loving Subjects,
 as should be thought fit by the advice of both Houses,
 which We thought to be the best way to compose all Fears
 and Jealousies of what kind soever. But the businesse of
 these men could not be done that way; a generall Pardon
 would never have settled the *Militia*, and dispossessed Vs
 of those Rights and that Power, without which they could
 not compasse their Designes. They now resort to their old
 refuge, the common people of the Citie and Suburbs, and
 whatever they desired, these men must ask for the satisfa-
 ction of the Fears and Jealousies of the Citie. The City
 had been desired to lend a hundred thousand pounds for
 the relief of *Ireland*; and their Answer is drawn up to their
 hands, of their inability to lend, and such reasons given as
 might advance what had been upon generall discourses
 neglected. The ten thousand men proffered by the *Scots*
 for *Ireland* were not accepted; a Bill having been offered
 Vs for pressing, and in it a clause (not necessary to the pre-
 sent, and therefore purposely as We conceive put in, in
 hope We would upon that refuse it) declaring Vs to have
 no power to presse (a power constantly practiced by Our
 Ancestours, & even in the blessed times of *Queen Elisabeth*)
 and Our pause upon it was urged as a Designe to lose that
 Kingdome, although We had offered to raise ten thousand
 Voluntiers for that purpose, if they would pay them;
 The not securing of the Cinque-Ports, though the custo-
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dy of them was in a Noble Person, against whom the least exception could not be made, and the not settling the Kingdome in a posture of Defence; The not removing *Sr. John Byron* from being Lieutenant of the Tower, whereby through distrust they were forced to forbear the bringing in of Bullion to the Mint (when 'tis notoriously known there was more Bullion brought in to Our Mint in the time that Gentleman was Lieutenant, then in the same quantitie of time in any mans remembrance) The Votes of the Bishops and the Popish Lords in the House of Peers, and all other things which were then in Designe, and had in vain been attempted by them, by the refusall of the House of Peers severall times to joyn with them, were now urged as principall reasons by this Petition of *London*, why they could not lend a hundred thousand pounds to *Ireland*, and were pressed by severall other Petitions contrived by them, and presented to both Houses, or to the House of Commons. And these Petitions are carried up to the Lords by *M. Pim*, who takes upon him to reproch them for not concurring with the House of Commons, and impudently layes that scandall upon Vs, That We had suffered many to passe by Our own immediate Warrant, who were since Commanders in the head of the Rebells: a false and abominable scandall, raised by his own malice to draw Our good Subjects against Vs, without the least colour or shadow of truth, as appears by those Answers they have published to Our exception in that point, wherein there is not the least evidence of any such Warrant granted by Vs. Though *M. Pim* be so great a Person, that We can have no reparation against him for that Calumny, but had Credit enough with the House of Commons to perswade them to charge themselves unjustly to excuse him, and to take upon them that he had said nothing in that Speech but by their directions, all this

this had not that quick operation with the Lords, with whom (though they had committed twelve Bishops for Treason, a thing themselves blush at, and the Popish Lords had absented themselves) they could not prevail to joyn in matters so unreasonable in themselves, and dishonourable to Vs; therefore the House of Commons by themselves petition Vs, thank Vs for Our Message of the 20 of *January*, though they have since declared it to be a breach of Privilege, resolving to take it into serious and speedy Consideration, onely desire for their security, That We will put the Tower of *London* and all the Forts of the Kingdome, and the whole *Militia* into such hands as should be recommended unto Vs by them, (for the House of Peers had refused to joyn with them, and so were upon the matter petitioned against, and left out in the power of recommendation) Sure this was the strangest Petition that till that time had ever been presented by the House of Commons to their King, yet We returned a gracious Answer, That if any particular should be presented to Vs, whereby it might appear that the Lieutenant of the Tower was unfit for the trust We had committed to him, We would immediately remove him; otherwise we were obliged in Honour and Justice not to put such a disgrace upon him. For the Forts and Castles, that We were resolved they should be alwayes in such hands, and onely in such as our Parliament should have cause to confide in; that We would have the Nomination of them Our Self, but that they should be alwayes left (if any thing were objected against them) to the Wisdome and Justice of the Parliament. For the *Militia*, that when some particular course should be proposed to Vs for the ordering of it, We should return an answer agreeable to Honour and Justice, as appears more at large in Our Answer of the 28 of *February* to that Petition.

This gave them no better satisfaction then the former: but finding that without the consent of the House of Peers (of whom much the major part, though the Popish Lords and the Bishops were absent, dissented from them) and against Our consent, they were not like to prevail over Our people, they resolve of another attempt upon them; their old Friends the Multitude must be again brought down by the great Conductor Captain *Venne*, who is notoriously known, and proof thereof offered to be produced by M. *Kirton* to the House of Commons, to have severall times sent to and solicited people to come down out of the City with swords and pistols when he hath told them, or sent them word by his Wife, That the worser party was like to have the better of the good Party; and for all which publick offer, neither was M. *Venne* then suffered to answer to this charge, nor M. *Kirton* allowed anytime (though many dayes were set) to bring in the particulars and witnesses. Many persons are importuned to set their hands against the Lieutenant of the Tower, that they durst not bring in any Bullion to the Mint for want of confidence, when they never brought in any in their lives; and being asked how they could set their hands to such a Certificate (when it was known that never greater Quantity was brought in then at that time) answered, That they were directed by Parliament men to do so, or else they could not compasse their ends: and having gotten multitudes of people of severall Counties, or such as pretended to be so, to deliver Petitions to both Houses, and to desire leave that they might protest against those Lords, who would not agree to the Votes of the House of Commons, as the Petitions of *Surrey* and *Hartfordshire* do; and perswaded others in the name of many thousands of poore people in and about the City of *London*, to petition against a malignant

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Faction which made abortive all those good intentions, which tended to the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdome, and to desire that those Noble Worthies of the House of Peers, who concurred with them in their happy Votes, might be earnestly desired to joyn with the House of Commons, and to sit and vote as one entire body, professing that unlesse some speedy remedy were taken for the removall of all such obstructions, as hindred the happy progresse of their great endeavours, the Petitioners should not rest in quietnesse, but should be enforced to lay hold on the next remedy which was at hand, to remove the disturbers of their Peace, and (want and necessity breaking the bounds of modesty) not to leave any means unassayed for their relief; adding, that the crie of the poore and needy was, That such persons who were the obstacles of their peace, and hinderers of the happy proceedings of this Parliament, might be forthwith publickly declared, whose removall they conceived would put a period to those Distractions, after it had been said in the House of Peers, *That whoever would not consent to the Proposition made by the House of Commons, concerning the Forts, Castles, and the Militia* (when it was rejected by a Major part twice) *was an Enemy to the Commonwealth.* This Petition was brought up to the House of Lords by the House of Commons, at a Conference, and after, the same day, M. Hollis (a person formerly accused by Vs of High Treason, and a most malicious Promoter and Contriver of those Petitions and Tumults) pressed the Lords, at the Barre, to joyn with the House of Commons in their desire about the *Militia*, and further (with many other Expressions of like nature) desired in words to this effect, *That (if that desire of the House of Commons were not assented to) those Lords, who were willing to concur would find some means to make themselves known,*
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that it might be known who were against them, and they might make it known to them who sent them. Upon which Petition, so strangely framed, counselled, and seconded, so great a number of the Lords departed, that that Vote passed (which they had so often before denied) in Order to the Ordinance concerning the *Militia*, and since that time, they have been able to carry any thing; and upon the matter, the Resolution of the House of Commons hath been wholly guided by those Persons who had given so plain Evidence that they had the Multitude at their Command, and hath wholly guided that of the House of Peers, who with little debate or dispute, have for the most part submitted to whatsoever hath been brought to them. Shortly after they passed their Ordinance with such a Preamble, as highly concerned Vs in Honour and Justice to protest against; wholly excluding Vs (in whom that whole power absolutely was and is) from any power or authority in the *Militia*, the Armes and strength of the Kingdome, and that, for as long as they pleased: And as if the matter were not worth the considering, or that there ought to be no other measure to guide Vs in point of judgement, or understanding, but their Votes, it was ill taken that we did not immediately return Our Answer, but took some time to consider it, and we were again with great passion and impatience pressed to give Our Answer, they being pleased to tell Vs, *They could not but interpret the delay to be in a degree a deniall*: And in the mean time to give Vs an instance how modestly they were like to use such power, when We should commit it to them, they presumed of themselves (knowing We had appointed Our Sonne the Prince to meet Vs at *Greenwich* in Our return from *Dover*) to inhibit his meeting Vs there, and to endeavour to get him into their custody. All these things considered, and the Insolence, and Injustice of the Ordinance, We

might very well have rejected that Proposition with a flat deniall, and just indignation; but we easily perceived that Our good People were misled by the Cunning and Malice of those *Boutefeus*, and thought it alwayes a compliance worthy a Prince to take all possible pains to undeceive such who are led into mistakings, and therefore we returned to their Proposition for the Ordinance a gracious Answer and Animadversion, made it evident to them, that the Preamble was in it self untrue, and against Our Honour to consent to, and expressed Our clear intention in Our going to Our House of Commons; We allowed all those Persons recommended to Vs (except onely in Corporations, to whom a Right was formerly granted by Charter, not consistent with this Ordinance) and offered to grant such Commissions to them, as had very long and happily been used in this Kingdome, and which we had this very Parliament granted to two Lords, at the instance and intreaty of both Houses. If that power should not be thought enough, We offered to grant any should be first vested in Vs, and so We be enabled to grant; but desired that the whole might be digested into an Act of Parliament, whereby Our good Subjects might know, what they were to do, and what they were to suffer, that there might be the least latitude for the exercising of any Arbitrary Power over them; which Answer we desire all Our Subjects to reade, and consider, whether we did not thereby grant all which themselves had first desired, and whether there was cause to Vote such who advised that Answer to be Enemies to the State, and mischievous Projectours against the defence of the Kingdome. But as if all the Acts passed by Us, (amongst which that for the taking away the Votes of the Bishops out of the House of Peers was the last) were of no other value, but as instances that we would never deny them

them any thing, they immediately in great fury addresse themselves to Vs with a new *Humble Petition* (as they called it, but was indeed a threatning) and told Vs plainly, *That if We would not then* (in that instant) *give Our royall assent to their Ordinance, they were resolved to dispose of the Militia by the Authoritie of both Houses without Vs; advised Vs to stay about London, to put away evil Counsellours, and to let Our Son the Prince be and continue at S^t James's, or some other of Our Houses near about London, that the Jealousies and Fears of Our People might be prevented.* We must appeal to all the world, whether considering what had been done in publick, and said in private, We had no cause of Jealousie, and whether having such evidence of the malice, guilt and power of those accused Members, who had designed to have taken the Prince Our Sonne from Us by force, it was not high time to remove a little further from that Torrent, which might have overwhelmed Us, and made them as well, and by the same Rule, Masters of Our Person, as of Our *Militia*. This carried Us first from *Theobalds* to *Newmarket*; and whosoever reads the Declaration sent Us thither, the strange language given Us, and scandalls laid upon Us in that Declaration, will not wonder, that We made all the haste we could from thence to *York*.

What hath happened since Our coming hither, both in Words and Actions, is too notorious to all the Parts of Christendome, who, with wonder and delight, are amazed to see the Wisdome, Courage, Affection, and Loyalty of the English Nation appear so farre shrunk and confounded by the Malice, Cunning and Industry of Persons, contemptible in number, inconsiderable in Fortune and Reputation, united onely by Guilt and Conspiracy against Vs. A licence even to Treason is admitted (that is, not punished) in Pulpits, and Persons ignorant in Learning and Under-

standing, turbulent and seditious in disposition, scandalous in life, and unconformable in Opinion to the Laws of the Land, are by these men, their Recommendation and Authority, imposed upon Parishes to infect and poyson the minds of Our People. Our Towas, Our Goods, Our Money are taken from Vs, and to make the scorn compleat, care is taken to perswade Vs that We are not injured, but that all is done for Our good. Opinions and Resolutions are imposed upon Vs by Votes, and Declarations, that We intend to levie Warre, and then Armes taken up to destroy Vs, Rebellions, and Treasons contrived, fomented, and acted against Vs, and then reproches cast on Vs, and warre raised against Vs, because We are displeased. We send our Command to our Keeper of our Great Seal of England, to adjourn the Term from *London* to *Tork*, a thing as much in our power, as in what room of our house We will lodge or eate; this is straight Voted to be illegall, and our Keeper of Our Own Seal peremptorily forbid to do his duty, to seal a writ or Proclamation to that purpose: And when in obedience to Our expresse Command he comes to wait on Vs, he is pursued with a warrant to all Majors, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, and other Officers to apprehend him. A Committee is sent down into the Countries near Vs to execute their pretended ordinance, who compell Our Subjects to take Armes against Vs, and threaten and imprison such as refuse, without the least colour of Law; whilst such who execute Our Legall Commission of Array are sent for as delinquents, and declared to be enemies to the kingdome, Our own moneys seized upon at *London*, and no supply suffered to be sent Vs; all persons are forbid to come to Vs, and charge given to all men, near the Northern Road, to stop all men and horses, who are for Our service coming to

to York, there being (as Mr. *Hollis* sayes, in his speech, of which he hath the sole printing, and hath granted that Monopoly to one *Underbill*) a mark set upon that place, and an opinion declared concerning those who shall resort thither: Our High-ways are shut up, and Our good Subjects are hindred in their journeys, and their goods seized and detained from them, because they have occasions to use them in the North: Our own household Servants refuse to attend Vs upon Our Summons, and then the putting them from their places is Voted an injury to the Parliament, and whosoever shall accept of those places, to offer an affront to the Parliament, and render themselves unworthy of any place of Honour or Trust in the Common-Wealth: Sr. *John Hotham* is commended and protected for keeping Vs out of Our Town of *Hull* by force and Armes; and Our raising a Guard for Our defence is voted levying warre against Our Parliament; whilst he murders Our Subjects, takes them prisoners, burns their houses, drowns their Land, robs all men he can lay hold of, and committeth all the insolent Acts of Hostility against Vs, and Our Subjects, which the most unequall & declared enemies practise in any Country. And when after all these outrages, Our miserable Subjects throw themselves at Our feet, crying for and challenging Our Protection, We must not perform that duty towards them, nor presume to say Sr. *John Hotham* is a Traytour, because he hath Priviledge of Parliament. Our Royall Navy, Our own Ships, are taken from Vs, the Earl of *Warwick* made Our Admirall in despite and scorn of Vs, who chases Our Subjects, and makes warre upon Vs, under the Authority of another pretended Ordinance; and his letter published by the direction of the House of Peers, to shew how easie it was to make an election, rather to despise Vs, and the known unquestionable Law of the Land, then
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to neglect an Order of both Houses in a matter they have no more just power to meddle in, then they have to sell Our Houses, Parks, and Crown-land ; and they may as lawfully send those Ships to the Indies, and ordain that we shall never have more, as keep them in the Downs against Our will, and under a Command We do protest against to all the world. We are defamed and publickly reproched for want of zeal against the Rebels in *Ireland*, and when we offer to venture Our own Person, and our Crown-land for the relief of our miserable Subjects there, such a journey is voted to be against the Law, to be an encouragement to the Rebels, that whosoever shall assist Vs in it, shall be an enemy to the Commonwealth, and that the Sheriffs of Counties shall raise power to suppress any levies We shall make to that purpose. And after all this (when it hath been publickly said by M. Martin, *That Our Office is forfeitable, and that the happinesse of this Kingdome doth not depend upon Vs, or any of the Regall branches of that Stock* : and by Sr. Henry Ludlow, *That we are not worthy to be King of England*, and been declared, *That We have no negative voice*, which puts Our Crown, the Law of the Land, the Liberty and Propertie of the Subject absolutely into their hands) We are told by these devout champions for Anarchy & Confusion, *That We are fairly dealt with, that We are not deposed; that if they did that, there would be neither want of modesty or duty in them.* They publish false, scandalous Declarations to corrupt Our good Subjects in their Loyalty and Affection to Vs, injoyne them to be read, and disperse them with all care and industrie, and send for all Ministers, who according to Our Command publish Our Answers to undeceive Our people, as Delinquents, notwithstanding We have not prohibited any to reade theirs: They commit the Lord Major of London, and other Majors, for publishing Our Proclamations

tions according to Our Writ, and his Oath, and straitly charge all Our Ministers of Justice not to obey Vs: They raise an Army against Vs, and choose the Earl of *Essex* for their Generall, and grant him a power over Vs, the Law, & all Our people, that he may kill & destroy whom he thinks fit, & impose an oath upon Our Subjects to execute all the Commands of both Houses: They waste and consume the money given by Act of Parliament for discharge of the great debt of the Kingdome, and for the relief of the bleeding Condition of *Ireland*; imploy the money brought in by the Adventurers, & those men who are levied by Our Authoritie and Commission for the preservation of Our miserable Subjects there, to serve them in a warre against Vs, whereby all men may see what reason We had, not to consent to a Warrant dormant under pretence of levies for *Ireland*, which might have furnished them with men to fight against Vs, as the same pretence hath done with all the Arms We had in Our Magazines: They commit such of Our Subjects to Prison, whom they are pleased to suspect (as the Earl of *Portland*) and for no other reason but that they believe them Loyall to Vs; Censure and Degrade nine Lords at a clap for obeying Our Summons, and coming to Vs, when scarce that number concurred in the Judgement; and Declare two others enemies to the Commonwealth, and take their Votes from them, without so much as summoning them to answer any Charge brought against them: They presume to take Tunnage and Poundage by a pretended Ordinance without Our consent, though they have so often pressed it against Vs, that We took it without theirs, and so now dispence with a *Premunure* made this Parliament as they have formerly done with Treason. Lastly to shew into what hands they intend the Government of this Kingdome shall be put, they have re-

duced the businesse of the whole Kingdome from both Houses of Parliament into the hands of a few desperate persons, who have the power committed to them to Act this Tragedy, without acquainting the Houses, and so have gotten the Authoritie of King and both Houses of Parliament to destroy all three; make Orders to break up houses, take away Plate and Money, because 'tis possible the owners wish it with Vs at York; send Troops of horse to make Warre upon Vs in what Counties they please, and commit such unheard of Acts of oppression, and injustice, as no story can parallel, where the least form of government hath been left: that all Our good Subjects may see by what rules they shall live, and what right they are to enjoy, when these men have gotten the sway, who in the infancie of their power, and when there is yet left some memorie of, and reverence to the Laws under which their fathers lived so happily, dare leap over all those known and confessed Principles of Government and Obedience, and exercise a Tyrannie both over Prince and People more insupportable then Confusion it self.

And for all this impudent injustice (odious to God and Man) what is objected against Vs: that We will not be advised by Our Parliament: In what? what one Proposition that is evidently for the ease of Our Subjects have We denied? that We have granted many is confessed. We will not consent that the Ordinance of the *Militia* shall be executed and obeyed; that is, We will not allow that both Houses of Parliament shall make Laws, and impose upon the Property & Libertie of Our Subjects without Our consent (which if We should yield to, upon the same pretences of necessity, a word fatall to this Kingdome, and the publick good, the House of Commons might as well, and would quickly come to make Laws without the House of Peers, and

and the Common people without either) nor are willing that those men, who have discovered all malice to Our Person, & disesteem and irreverence of Our Office, shall be legally qualified to take up Arms against Vs, when they shall be thereunto provoked by their Malice or Ambition. There can be no new thing said in this Argument, We must referre Our good Subjects to Our severall Answers, Declarations and Proclamations in that point; onely it will be worth their considering, that this extraordinary, unheard of, extravagant power was assumed in case of peremptory necessitie, for the prevention of imminent danger in the beginning of *March* (how long it was in designe before is understood by Sir *Arthur Haslerigge* his bill long preceding) whether any such danger hath been since discovered, and whether unspeakable calamities have not already, and are like to ensue from that fountain, We wish it were not too apparant. And if those fears and jealousies, which seem to make that Ordinance necessary, were indeed reall and honest, that in truth nothing were desired but putting the Kingdome into a Posture, that is, that all Our loving Subjects might be provided with Arms, and dextrous in the using them, if any Invasion or Rebellion should be; is not all this care taken, and all this securitie provided for by the Commission of Array? what honest end can that Ordinance have, which is not obtained by the execution of and obedience to that Commission? but 'tis true the power is not in those hands, nor like to be employed to those uses, it is now intended. Who hath not heard these men say, that the alteration they intend, and is necessarie, both in Church and State, must be made by bloud? are not the principles by which they live destructive to all Laws, and Compacts? is not every thing necessary they think so, and every thing lawfull that is in order to that necessitie? sure if Our good

Subjects were throughly awake in this businesse, they would think they had much more cause to thank Vs for denying this Ordinance, then for granting all that We have granted. What is there else? We do not think Sir *John Hotham* hath delt well with Vs in keeping Our Town from Vs, nor do take it kindly that We are robbed of Our Magazine and Munition, but think of recovering both by force because We cannot have them otherwise, which will be an actuall levying Warre against Our Parliament. This Argument is sufficiently vexed too: Our good Subjects will reade the Messages, Answers, Votes and Declarations in this case; and We are sure upon the Grounds laid to justifie this Treason, no Subject in *England* hath a house of his own, which may not to morrow be given to Sir *John Hotham* for as long a term as they think fit; and he may be sent to morrow to murder Vs, and be no Traitor, and they who shall shut the doore against him shall be Delinquents. Is there no more? Yes; We will not submit to those nineteen dutifull and modest Propositions which have been lately thrown at Vs, as the necessary means of removing jealousies and differences, and as the last complement of all their scorns and injurie, that Posteritie may see to what a ravenousness We were brought when such things were asked of Vs: We will not be content that all Our Officers & Ministers of State, be they never so faithfull to Vs, so affectionate to their Countrey, never so wise, never so honest, shall be immediately removed from Vs & their Places, be disgraced & undone, & in their rooms, these gentlemen (who have taken all possible pains to destroy King and People) or such whom they shall recommend, to succeed, that the same Faction may be carried through the whole Kingdome, which these men have raised in both Houses of Parliament; that all Affairs of the Kingdome be managed not onely by their advice, but their absolute direction and command, lest any man should think himself Our Ser-

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vant ; that the Education & Marriage of Our Children be committed to them , lest any Christian Prince should make addressees to Vs in such Treaties: In a word, that in gratitude to their modesty and duty for not deposing Vs, We will not now depose Our Self, and suffer the People and Kingdome (which God, and the Law hath committed to Our government and protection, and for which We must make an account) to be devoured by them.

Sure these men think 'tis no affront to ask any thing: But can Our good Subjects be longer kept in this trance? can the Nobilitie, Gentry, Clergie, Commonalty of *England* sacrifice their Honour, Interest, Religion, Libertie to terms and the mere sound of Parliament, and Priviledge? can their experience, reason, and understanding be captivated by words, and assumptions contradictory to all Principles? What one thing have We denied, that with reference to the publick peace and happinesse was to be bought with the losse of the meanest Subject? and yet into what a Sea of bloud is the rage and fury of these men launching out, to wrest that from Vs, which We are bound (if we had a thousand lives to lose in the contention) to defend? nay what one thing is there that makes life precious to good men, which We do not defend, and these men oppose, and would evidently destroy? What grievance or pressure have Our People complained of, and been eased by Vs, which is not now brought upon them in an unlimited degree? Is the true Reformed Protestant Religion, sealed by the bloud of so many Reverend Martyrs, and established by the wisdom and pietie of former blessed Parliaments, dear to them? We must appeal to all the world (being called upon by the reproches of these men) whether Our own practice (the best evidence of Religion) and all the assistance & offers We can give, have been wanting to the Ad-

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vancement of that Religion: and what can be more done by Vs to satisfie and secure Our people in that point? On the other side, let all Our good Subjects consider and weigh what pregnant Arguments they have to fear Innovation in Religion, if these desperate persons prevail; when the principall men, to whose care and industry they have committed the managery of that part, refuse Communion with the Church of *England*, as much as the Papists do, & have not onely, with that freedome they think fit to use, reproched the Book of Common Prayer, and the Government of the Church in their speeches, but have published those speeches in the view of all men in print, that the world might see by what measure and rule the Reformation they so much talk of, is to be made; when such Petitions have been contrived by them, and accepted with publick thanks, which revile the Book of Common Prayer, calling it a *Masse-book*, in scorn and contempt of the Law, whilest other Petitions for the Government established by Law have been rejected, discountenanced, and the Petitioners punished; and when two Armies were kept in the Bowels of the Kingdome ten weeks, at the charge of fourescore thousand pounds a moneth, for the Countenance of a Bill to eradicate Episcopacie, root and branch: when such licence is given to Brownists, Anabaptists, Sectaries, and whilest Coach-men, Feltmakers, and such Mechanick persons are allowed, and entertained to preach by those who think themselves the principall Members of either House; when such barbarous outrages in Churches, and heathenish irreverence and uprores, even in the time of Divine Service, and the Administration of the blessed Sacrament, are practised without controul, when the blessed means of advancing Religion, the Preaching of the Word of God, is turned into a Licence

cence of libelling, and reviling both Church and State, and venting such seditious positions, as by the Laws of the Land are no lesse then Treason, and scarce a man in reputation and credit with these Grand Reformers, who is not notoriously guilty of this; whilst those learned, reverend, painfull, and pious Preachers, who have been and are the most eminent and able assertours of the Protestant Religion, are (to the inspeakable joy of the Adversaries to Our Religion) disregarded and oppressed; Lastly, when for the settling and composing all these distractions and distempers, in stead of a free and generall Synod of grave and learned Divines, which hath been so much talked of (and to whose deliberations We were and are willing to commit the consideration of those Affairs) a Conference is desired with particular men, nominated by themselves, contrary to the Rights and Practice of the Church, the Major part of whom (though We confesse there are many reverend, learned, and pious persons amongst them) are not of learning and understanding suitable to so great a work, are of known avowed disaffection to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, and of those who have preached seditiously, and treasonably, against Our Person and Authority, as Doctour *Downing* and others. Who ever from his soul desires a true examination and Reformation in Religion cannot expect it from the results of these mens counsels, nor think the true service of God is like to be advanced or preserved by such practises: And all sober men must look with strange horror and indignation upon the last Declaration of the Lords and Commons, which after such unpresidented outrages and violences against Vs, publishes the ground of their taking up defensive Arms (as they call them) to be, for the maintenance of the true Religion; the taking and keeping of *Hall*, Our Navy, Our Money, and Goods, the exerci-

exercising of the *Militia*, and all the other injuries We complain of, to be for the maintenance of Religion : but who-soever believes them to be for the preservation of Our Person, may believe the other too. Would men enjoy the Laws they were born to, the Liberty and Property which makes the subjection of this Nation famous and honourable with all neighbouring Kingdomes ? We have done Our part to make a wall of brasſe for the perpetuall defence of them, whileſt theſe ill men uſurp a power to undermine that wall, and to ſhake thoſe foundations, which cannot be pulled down, but to the confuſion of Law, Liberty, Property, and the very Life and Being of Our Subjects ? Is the Dignity, Priviledge and Freedome of Parliaments (Parliaments whoſe wiſdome and gravity have prepared ſo many whoſome Laws, and whoſe freedome diſtinguiſhes the condition of Our Subjects from thoſe of any Monarchy in Europe) pretious unto Our People ? Where was that Freedome and that Priviledge when the Houſe of Commons preſumed to make Laws without the Houſe of Peers, as they did in their Vote upon the Proteſtation, and of the 9. of *September*, when the Houſe of Commons and the Houſe of Peers preſumed to make Laws without Our conſent, as they have done in the buſineſſe of the *Militia*, of *Hull*, in the behalf of their Champion Serjeant Major Generall *Skippon*, of the Earl of *Warwick*, of their new General the Earl of *Effex* (with whom they will live and die) and many other Caſes ? Where was that Freedome and Priviledge when Alderman *Pennington* and Captain *Venne* brought down their Myrmidons to aſſault and terrifie the Members of both Houſes, whoſe faces or whoſe opinions they liked not, and by that Army to awe the Parliament ; when thoſe rude multitudes publiſhed the names of the Members of both Houſes, as enemies to the Commonwealth

wealth, who would not agree to their frantick propositions; when the names of those were given by Members of the House, that they might be proscribed, and torn in pieces by those Multitudes, when many were driven away for fear of their lives from being present at those consultations, and when *M. Hollis* required the names of those Lords who would not agree with the House of Commons? Lastly, where was that freedom and privilege of Parliament, when Members of the one House had been questioned for words spoken in the House, and one freed, the other but reprehended by vote of the Major part, were again questioned by the other House, and a charge brought against them for those words? Is Honour, Reputation, Freedom and Civility to be esteemed? What causelesse Defamations have been raised and entertained upon Persons of quality, and unblemished estimation, upon no grounds or appearance of reason, but because their opinions ran not with the Torrent? what caresses have been and are made to persons loose, virious, and debauched, of no virtue, no Religion, no reputation, but of malice and ingratitude to Vs? their names will be easily found out, by all mens observation, and their own blushes, though they shall not have the Honour of Our mention? How have the Laws of Hospitality and Civility been violated, the freedom and liberty of Conversation (the pleasure and delight of life) been invaded by them? the discourses at Tables, whispers in gardens and walks examined, and of persons under no accusation; letters broken up, (Our own to Our dearest Consort the Queen, not spared) read publickly, and commented upon, with such circumstances as makes Christendome laugh at our follies, and abhorre Our correspondence: Is peace and tranquillity dear to Our Subjects? To shew that We have left no way to that (not destructive to Honour and Justice)

Justice) unattempted, We offered to lay down Our Arms upon no other Reparations for all the Indignities multiplied upon Us, then these, that they should lay down theirs so unjustifiably taken, and We have Our own Town, goods and Navy (taken and kept by violence from Vs) to be peaceably restored to Vs, and the power of making Laws without Vs by the way of Ordinances (which implies a power by Ordinance to depose Us) and that in particular concerning the *Militia*, to be disavowed, and a safe place to be agreed on, where We might be present with Our Great Councell, for the composing of all misunderstandings, and making this Kingdome happy: which offers not onely were not accepted, but not so much as any Answer directed immediately to Us; somewhat onely sent down by their under-Clerk, which with their first Petition and Our Answer (We are much pleased to heare) are ordered to be printed and read in all Churches, (We desire no better evidence then Our and their writings and actions, and no better Judges and Witnesses then Our people of Our love to peace) and even before this kind of Answer came to Us, whilst we with patience and hope, expecting such a return as We desired, forbore any action or attempt of force, according to Our promise, *Sr. John Hotham* lallyed out in the night, and murdered the persons of his fellow-subjects, and ever since in this quarrell they labour to encrease their Army, (the very levie of which is Treason) and are ready to march with it against Us. Let all the world judge, who are the lovers of Peace. Lastly, is the Constitution of the Kingdome to be preserved, and Monarchy it self upheld? can any thing be more evident then that the end of these men is, or the conclusion which must attend their premisses must be, to introduce a parties and confusion of all degrees and conditions: are not severall books and papers (such as the *Observations upon*

parts

parts of Our messages) published by their direction, at least under their countenance, against Monarchy it self: Is it possible for Vs to be made vile; and contemptible; and shall Our good Subjects continue as they are? Can Our just power be taken from Vs, and shall they enjoy their liberty? Whosoever is a friend to the constitution of the Kingdome, must be an enemy to these men.

How the benefit, advantages, and hopes of the Kingdome have been and are advanced and promoted by these men, all good men see and discern. Let Vs consider now whether all those grievances and pressures which our Subjects have heretofore suffered under, and of which Our Justice and Favour hath eased them, be not by the Faction and Tyranny of these men redoubled upon Our people: Were the consciences of men grieved and scandalized at the too much Formality and Circumstances used in the exercise of Religion, and are they not equally concerned in the uncomeliness, irreverence, and profaneness now avowed to the dishonour of Christianity? were they troubled to see the Pulpit sometimes made a Bar to plead against the Libertie and Property of the Subject, and are they not more confounded to see it so generally made a Scaffold to incite the people to Rebellion and Sedition against Vs? Have Our people suffered under and been oppressed by the exercise of an Arbitrary power, and out of a sense of those sufferings have We consented to take away the *Star-chamber*, the *High Commission-Courts*, to regulate the *Council-Table*, and to apply any Remedies have been proposed to Vs for that disease? and have not these men doubled those pressures, in the latitude and unlimitedness of their proceeding, in their Orders for the observation of the Law as they pretend, and their punishing men for not obeying those Orders in a way and degree the Law doth not prescribe; in their

Sending for Our good Subjects upon generall Informations
 without proof, and for offenses which the Law takes no
 notice of; in declaring men enemies to the Commonwealth,
 fining and imprisoning them, for doing or not doing that,
 which no known Law enjoyns or condemns? Were the
 Pursivants of the *Council-Table*, the delay and attendance
 there, or at the *High-Commission-Court*, the judgements and
 decrees of the *Star-Chamber*, more grievous, grievous to
 more persons, more chargeable, more intolerable, then the
 Serjeants and Officers fees, the attendance upon the Houses,
 and upon Committees, or then the Votes and Judgements
 which have lately passed in one or both Houses. Let all the
 Decrees, Sentences and Judgements of the *High-Commis-*
sion Court and *Star-chamber* be examined, and any found so
 unjust, so illegall, as the proceedings against the Gentle-
 men of *Kent*, for preparing and presenting a Petition agree-
 able in form and matter to all the rules of Law and Justice,
 by which men are to be informed to ask any thing; as the
 judgement against M. *Bynion*, that he should be disfranchi-
 sed, be incapable of ever bearing Office in the Common-
 wealth, imprisoned in the Goal of *Colchester* for the space
 of two years, and to pay three thousand fine, nothing being
 charged and proved against him, that any Law or reason
 could tell him that he was not to do: though the sentences
 in the other Courts were in some Cases too severe, and ex-
 ceeded the measure of the offense, there was still an offense,
 somewhat done that in truth was a crime; but here Decla-
 rations, Votes, and Judgements passe upon Our people, for
 matters not suspected to be crimes till they are punished.
 And have such proceedings ever been before this Parlia-
 ment? If Monopolies have been granted, to the preju-
 dice of Our people, the Calamity will not be lesse, if
 it be exercised by a good Lord, by a Bill, then it was
 before

before by a Patent. And yet the Earl of *Warwick* thinks fit to require the Letter-office to be confirmed to him for three lives, at the same time that 'tis complained of as a Monopoly, and without the alteration of any circumstance, for the ease of the Subject; and this with so much greediness and authority, that whilst it was complained of as a Monopoly, he procured an Assignment to be made of it to him from the person complained of, after he had by his interest stopped the proceedings of the Committee for the space of five months, before that Assignment made to him, upon pretence that he was concerned in it, and desired to be heard: of such Sovereign Power was his name, as if it could be no longer a grievance to Our People, if it might prove an advantage to him. A President very likely to be followed in many Monopolies, if they may be assigned to principall Members, or their friends, witness the connivance now given to Sir *John Meldrum* for his Lights, since his undertaking their service at *Hull*. Have partiality and corruption in Judges obstructed the course of Justice? was there ever such partiality and corruption, when their fellow-Members of either House are by them importuned and solicited for their Votes in Causes before them, and no other measure or rule to the Justice of that Faction then the opinions of the persons contending? what summes of money have been given to, and what contracts have been made with some Members of either House who are of this powerfull Faction We complain of, for preserving this man from being questioned, and promoting an Accusation against that man, for managing such a cause, and procuring such an Order, We are very well able to give particular information; which We shall willingly do, when there may be such a sober and secure debate as becomes the dignity and freedom of Parliament, and the witnesses, now

within their reach, may neither be awed, nor tampered with, before triall; for how little care there is taken for discoveries of this nature, appears by that which (upon a complaint of a slander against Mr *Pim*) was justified, and the Authour averred against him, for taking Thirty Pound Bribe to preserve a Papist from Legall prosecution, which hath been so long suffered to sleep at a Committee.

Our case is truly stated, so truly, that there is scarce any particular urged or alledged by Vs which is not known to many, and the most to all men: And must Our Condition be now irreparable? are the injuries committed against Vs and the Law justifiable? and must We be censured for using all possible means to be freed from them, or to be repaired for them, because they seem to carrie the consent and authoritie of both Our Houses of Parliament? There is not a particular of which We complain, that found not eminent opposition in both Houses, and yet for the most part not above a Moitie of either House present. The Order of the 9. of *September* (an Order to suspend the execution of Laws in force) passed, when there were not above eightie Commoners (of which many dissented) and but twentie Lords, whereof eleven (the major part) expressly contradicted it: The first unseasonable Remonstrance (the fountain from whence all the present mischiefs have flowed) was carried but by eleven Voices after fifteen houres sitting, when above two hundred were absent, and was never approved by the Lords: The businesse of the *Militia* was at least twice rejected by double their number in the House of Peers, who consented to it, there being no Popish Lord present, and twelve Bishops in the Tower; and yet this proposed again, the House being made thin of those Lords who had formerly opposed it, who went out immediately (it being their usuall course to watch such opportunities to effect

effect their business) after M. *Holla* his threats, and then carried. The Declaration against Us sent to *Newmarket* was carried but by one Voice in the House of Peers, and by a small number in the House of Commons: The justifying Sir *John Hoitham* in his Act of High Treason, was opposed by many persons of great worth, though neither House had half its number: And We are very farre from censuring all those persons who concurred in these or any other particulars; We believe very many of them stood not in so clear a light to discern the guilt, malice, ambition, or subtilty of their seducers; but if in truth there were a consent intirely in both Houses of Parliament (as We are most assured there will never be) to alter the whole frame of Government, must we submit to those Resolutions, and must not Our Subjects help and assist Vs in the defence of Laws and Government established, because they do not like them? Did We intend when We called them to that great Council, or did Our Subjects intend when they sent them thither in their behalfs, that they should alter the whole frame of Government, according to their own phancies and ambition, and possesse those places during their lives? What Our opinion and resolution is concerning Parliaments, We have fully expressed in Our Declarations; We have said, and will still say, they are so essentiall a part of the Constitution of this Kingdome, that We can attain to no happinesse without them, nor will We ever make the least attempt (in Our thought) against them. We well know that Our Self and Our two Houses make up the Parliament, and that We are like *Hippocrates* Twins, We must laugh and crie, live and die together, that no man can be a friend to the one, and an enemy to the other; the injustice, injurie and violence offered to Parliaments, is that which We principally complain of: And we again assure
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all Our good Subjects in the presence of Almighty God, that all the Acts passed by Vs this Parliament shall be equally observed by Vs, as we desire those to be which do most concern Our Rights. Our Quarrel is not against the Parliament but against particular men, who first made the wounds, and will not now suffer them to be healed, but make them deeper, and wider, by contriving, fostering, and fomenting mistakes and jealousies betwixt body and head, Vs and Our two houses of Parliament, whom We name, and are ready to prove them guilty of High Treason: We desire that the Lord *Kimbolton*, *M. Hollis*, *M. Pim*, *M. Hampden*, *Sir Arthur Haslerigge*, *M. Storde*, *M. Martin*, *Sir Henry Ludlow*, Alderman *Pennington* & Captain *Venne* may be delivered into the hands of Justice, to be tryed by their Peers, according to the known Laws of the Land; If We do not prove them guilty of High Treason, they will be acquitted, and their Innocence will justly triumph over Vs. Against the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Essex*, Earl of *Stamford*, Lord *Brook*, *Sir John Horham*, Serjeant Major Generall *Skippon*, and those who shall henceforth exercise the *Militia* by virtue of the Ordinance, We shall cause Indictments to be drawn of High Treason vpon the Statute of the 25. yeare of King *Edward* the third; Let them submit to their triall appointed by Law, and plead their Ordinances; if they shall be acquitted, We have done. And that all Our loving Subjects may know, that in truth nothing but the Preservation of the true Protestant Religion, invaded by Brownisme, Anabaptisme, and Libertinisme, the safety of Our Person threatned & conspired against by Rebellion and Treason, the Law of the Land and Libertie of the Subject oppressed and almost destroyed by an usurped, unlimited, Arbitrary power, and the Freedom, Priviledge and Dignitie of Parliament awed and insulted

sulted upon by force and tumults, could make Vs put off Our long-lov'd Robe of Peace, and take up defensive Arms. We once more offer a free and a gracious pardon to all Our loving Subjects who shall desire the same (except the persons before named) and shall be as glad with safety and honour to lay down these Arms, as of the greatest blessing We are capable of in this world. But if to justify these Actions and these Persons, Our Subjects shall think fit to engage themselves in a Warre against Vs, We must not look upon it as an Act of Our Parliament, but as a Rebellion against Vs and the Law in the behalf of these men, and shall proceed for the suppressing it with the same Conscience and Courage, as We would meet an Army of Rebels, who endeavour to destroy both King and People; and We will never doubt to find honest men enough of Our minds.

FINIS.



The true Copie of the Petition prepared
by the Officers of the late Army, and Subscribed
by His M A J E S T I E, with C. R.

To the K I N G S Most Excellent M A J E S T I E,
the Lords Spirituall, and Temporall, the Knights,
Citizens, and Burgeses now Assembled in the
High Court of Parliament.

The Humble Petition of the Officers, and Souldiers of the Army

H U M B L Y S H E V V E T H,



That although our wants have been very
pressing, and the burthen we are become
unto these parts (by reason of those
wants) very grievous unto us, yet so have
we demeaned our selves, that Your Ma-
jesties great and weighty Affairs in this
present Parliament, have hitherto recei-
ved no interruption by any Complaint, either from us or
against us: A temper not usuall in Armies (especially in
one destitute not onely of pay, but also of Martiall Disci-
pline, and many of its principall Officers:) that we cannot
but attribute it to a particular blessing of Almighty God, on
our most hearty affection and zeal to the Common good in
the happy successe of this Parliament, to which as we should
have been ready houely to contribute our dearest bloud, so
now that it hath pleased God to manifest his blessing so ma-
nifestly therein, We cannot but acknowledge it with thank-
fulnesse. We cannot but acknowledge his great Mercie in
that he hath inclined Your Majesties Royall heart so to coo-
perate with the wisdome of the Parliament, as to effect so

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great and happy a Reformation, upon the former distempers of this Church and Commonwealth; as first in Your Majesties gracious condescending to the many important demands of our neighbours of the *Scottish* Nation: Secondly, in granting so free a course of Justice against all Delinquents, of what quality soever: Thirdly, in the removall of all those grievances wherewith the Subjects did conceive either their Libertie of Persons, Proprietic of Estate, or Freedom of Conscience prejudiced: And lastly, in the greatest pledge of security that ever the Subjects of *England* received from their Sovereigne, the Bill of Trienniall Parliament. These things so graciously accorded unto by Your Majesty, without bargain or compensation, as they are more then expectation or hope could extend unto, so now certainly they are such as all loyall hearts ought to requiesse in with thankfulness, which We do with all humility, and do at this time with as much earnestnesse, as any, pray and wish, That the Kingdome may be settled in peace & quietnesse, and that all men may, at their own homes, enjoy the blessed fruits of your Wisdome & Justice. But may it please Your Excellent Majestie, and this High Court of Parliament, to give us leave, with grief and anguish of heart, to represent unto You, that we heare that there are certain persons stirring & practically, who in stead of rendring glory to God, thanks to his Majestie, and acknowledgement to the Parliament, remain yet as unsatisfied and mutinous as ever, who whilest all the rest of the Kingdome are arrived even beyond their wishes, are daily forging new & unseasonable demands: who whilest all men of Reason, Loyalty and Moderation, are thinking how they may provide for Your Majesties Honour & Plenty, in return of so many graces to the Subject, they are still attempting new Diminutions of Your Majesties just Regalities, which must ever be no lesse dear to
all

all honest men, then our own freedoms: In fine, men of such turbulent spirits, as are ready to sacrifice the honour & welfare of the whole Kingdome to their private phancies (who nothing else then a subversion of the whole frame of Government will satisfie.) Far be it from our thoughts to believe, that the violence and unreasonablenesse of such kind of persons can have any influence upon the Prudence & Justice of the Parliament. But that which begets the trouble and disquiet of our loyall hearts at this present, is, That we heare those ill-affected persons are backed in their violence by the Multitude, and the power of raising Tumults, that thousands flock at their call, and beset the Parliament (and *Whitehall* it self) not onely to the prejudice of that freedom which is necessary to great Counsels & Judicatories, but possibly to some Personall danger of Your Sacred Majestie & Peers. The vast consequence of these Persons Malignitie, and of the licentiousnesse of those multitudes that follow them considered, in most deep care and zealous affection for the safetie of Your Sacred Majestie and the Parliament, our humble Petition is, That in Your Wisdoms, you would be pleased to remove such Dangers, by punishing the Ring-leaders of these Tumults, that Your Majestie, and the Parliament may be secured from such insolencies hereafter: For the suppressing of which, in all humility we offer our selves to wait upon You (if You please) hoping we shall appear as considerable in way of Defence to our gracious Sovereigne, the Parliament, our Religion, and the established Laws of the Kingdome, as what number soever shall audaciously presume to violate them. So shall we by the wisdom of Your Majestie, and the Parliament, not onely be vindicated from precedent Innovations, but be secured from the future, that are threatned, and likely to produce more dangerous effects then the former. *And we shall pray, &c.*

FINIS.